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Analysis of Textile Crafts at Selected Agricultural Fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1879-1915

by

Marijke (Benschop) Kerkhoven

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF Master of Science
IN
Clothing and Textiles

Faculty of Home Economics

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1986

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Analysis of Textile Crafts at Selected AgriculturalFairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1879-1915 submitted by Marijke B. Kerkhoven in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Clothing and Textiles.

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Supervisor

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Date January 23, 1986

Abstract

Analysis of Textile Crafts at Selected Agricultural Fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan,
1879-1915

Marijke (Benschop) Kerkhoven, Master of Science
Clothing and Textiles

Professor: Anne M. Lambert
Faculty of Home Economics
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Although a small number of interesting studies exists on the history of textile crafts in Western Canada, a systematic, quantitative study is still lacking. Such a study is necessary, not only because it complements traditional historical research of documents, artifacts, and oral history, but also because it provides a guide for collection policies, exhibitions and programs for museums and other institutions preserving the cultural heritage of Western Canada.

Prizewinners' lists of agricultural fairs are a regularly and systematically kept set of records on domestic manufacture, including textile crafts. Since the prizewinners' lists were usually published in local newspapers they are a readily available source of quantifiable information. This study was undertaken to identify the types of textile crafts practiced in the early agricultural settlement period between 1880 and 1915, to gain insights into the changes over time and into the local differences of these crafts, and to explore content analysis of prizewinners' lists as a research methodology for the history of material culture.

The contents of prizewinners' lists of ten selected fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1879, the date of the first fair in the area, till 1915 were examined for categories referring to textile crafts. More than 7,000 categories were analyzed and coded with respect to location, year, craft, and item crafted. This process produced a list of twenty textile crafts. With the aid of a computer command program the categories were analyzed, revealing that embroidery (27%), knitting (13%), and sewing (9%) were the most prominently featured crafts, and that these and some other crafts (crochet and lace making) enjoyed a marked increase from 1908 on. Analysis of the percentages of categories of each craft revealed that most communities in this survey had similar proportions of categories for each craft. Yorkton was an exception, where the proportion of quilting and sewing categories were markedly higher than other communities between 1880 and 1915.

Although several gaps were encountered in the microfilmed newspaper publications of prizewinners' lists, those of large fairs were found to contain detailed information on changes within a craft, especially embroidery, while the lists of smaller fairs tended to confirm general trends. Content analysis of prizewinners' lists was found to be a valid research method for the history of material culture.

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1. Statement of the Problem

1.1 Introduction

The history of textile crafts in Western Canada has not yet been the subject of intensive and systematic research. Although there exists a number of small and interesting studies of some aspects of the history of textiles in Western Canada, the general impression persists that textile traditions on the Canadian prairies are either non-existant (as noted by Linda Lazarowich, 1983, p. 3), or are of such recent origin that they are perceived as practically contemporary. Compared with Eastern and Central Canada, textile traditions in the west are very young, and surviving textiles scarce (Dorothy K.Burnham, 1981(a), p. 202). S.J. Hill and J.K. Richards suggested that some textile crafts, such as spinning and weaving, were no longer practiced, because all energy was spent on breaking the sod, while at the same time yarn and fabric were commercially available (Green (Ed.), 1967, p. 162, and p. 186). Studies by Dorothy K. Burnham and Linda Lazarowich indicate that this was not necessarily the case (1981(a), p. 202; 1983, p. 12).

Increased interest in the social aspects of the history of Western Canada and increased awareness of the rich potential of the pioneering past of the prairie provinces, have encouraged a growth of traditional museums, living museums, historically refurbished houses and interpretive programmes at historic sites. Since the educational value of these programmes is only as good as the research on which they are based, a systematic history of the textile crafts and traditions in Western Canada is vital. The recent growth of museums in western Canada makes necessary a quantitative study of textile craft practices in Western Canada to provide the framework for future studies, a guideline for collection policies and a basis for interpretive programmes for museums, historic houses, and other collecting institutions.

Crafts, like other aspects of material culture, can be studied in several ways. One possibility is to examine the artifacts, the products and the tools of the craft. Studies based on artifacts only can present a distortion, since the exceptional rather than the ordinary material tends to be deposited and to survive in historical collections (Rathje, 1979, p. 11). Sometimes not only the products of a craft have vanished, but also its specific tools. Consider, for instance, homespinning with a pencil, fingers, or wooden spoon (Anne Lambert, professor of Clothing and Textiles, University of Alberta, personal communication, November 6, 1984).

Another approach to the study of material culture is oral history. It can yield a wealth of information, especially on everyday material culture, going as far back as 150 years, as stated in Henrie Glassie's study of 1975 (Pocius, 1979, p. 66). The validity of the information is directly related to the degree of the informant's involvement with the craft or artifact (ibid.).

Documents are another alternative source of information. There are several types. Some are produced regularly, consistently, and with a concern for completeness. Such documents are official records, registration and census data, indexes, and similar material. Diaries, personal letters, and eyewitness accounts form another type of document, made more spontaneously. Of all documents, official records are in general the more reliable source of information (Compton & Hall, 1972, pp. 62-64).

A potential body of regularly kept official records are the prize lists and prizewinners' lists of the annual fairs of agricultural societies. These societies were formed as soon as a community was established, often immediately after the school and a church (MacEwan, 1950, p. 28). The societies promoted agricultural education through guest lectures, encouragement of experimental farming, and the provision of prizes for essays on agricultural science but their main activity was the organization of an annual fair (Auld, 1961, p. 1).

These fairs were competitions of all aspects of rural and domestic industry. The bulk of the competing categories consisted of livestock and crop entries. Textile crafts were usually found under the classification "Domestic Manufacture" or "Ladies Work", but sometimes under "School Competitions" or "Fine Arts". Prizelists were published in advance of the fair, while the prizewinners' lists were usually published within a week after the fair. Surviving prize lists of early fairs are very rare. A few remain the treasured possessions of the agricultural societies who originally published them, but most are in archival holdings.

Prizewinners' lists on the other hand, were usually published in the local newspapers. Most of the Canadian newspapers are microfilmed by the Canadian Library Association, the Commonwealth Microfilm Library and others, and are readily available for examination. From the prizewinners' lists it is possible to set up a list of crafts pertaining to textiles practiced during any period the agricultural fairs were held. Prizewinners' lists can also be analyzed to yield quantitative data on the extent of textile traditions and developments.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

1.2.1 Goals

The purpose of this study is to provide: (a) a framework for future systematic studies, (b) a basis for interpretive programming, (c) a guideline for collection policies, and (d) a methodology for using the quantifyable resources of the prizewinners' lists of agricultural fairs. In order to accomplish these goals the study was addressed to the following questions:

(1) What textile crafts were practiced in Alberta and Saskatchewan in the period of early settlement?

(2) Was there any change in the general interest in any of these crafts during this period?

(3) Was there any marked difference among localities with respect to these crafts during this period?

(4) How can the prizewinners' lists published in local newspapers be used as a source of quantitative information?

1.2.2 Objectives

Because the published prizewinners' lists provided a rich source of as yet unexplored information, the researcher decided to systematically analyze the textile craft categories on these lists. Thus, the study addressed itself to the following objectives.

I. The first objective was to list the textile crafts found on the winners' lists of agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan in the early period of agricultural settlement, i.e. between 1880 and 1915.

II. The second objective was to identify any quantitative change in the practice of any the identified crafts as suggested by the change in the number of categories of that craft at the fairs.

III. The third objective was to identify any quantitatively marked differences among localities, with respect to the practice of any of these crafts, as suggested by marked differences in the number and percentage of categories of any of these crafts at the fairs.

IV. The fourth objective was to develop and evaluate a method for extracting quantifiable information from the prizewinners' lists of agricultural fairs, using newspapers as a source of information.

1.3 Definitions and Concepts

While searching for good definitions the researcher found *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* very useful. Although it consulted only one textile expert [1], the committee who compiled the dictionary provided definitions which fit into the framework provided by Irene Emery and Dorothy K. Burnham. This gave the researcher the confidence to use the definitions provided by this dictionary, not only in addition to the definitions of Burnham and Emery, but especially in cases where they fail to provide them.

Although the terms **textile crafts** and **textile arts** have been used by various experts on textiles, a definition of either term has not been located. In her work *The Primary Structures of Textiles* Irene Emery defines **textile** as "a woven fabric" (1980, p. xvi). So does Burnham in her work *A Textile Terminology: Warp and Weft (1981(b)*, p. xiii and p. 151. Other experts have found this too confining. Constance Howard and Agnes Geijer have used the terms textile crafts and textile arts in the titles of their works and chapters, without defining them. By including techniques other than weaving in her discussion on textile crafts Howard implies a broader definition of the word textile (1978, pp. 7-9). Similarly, Geijer uses the term textile crafts in the title of a chapter on the textile traditions in Scandinavia, which includes diagonal plaiting, sprang, and *nålebindning* as well as weaving (1979, pp. 240-265). Burnham herself includes in her work *The Comfortable Arts: Traditional Spinning and Weaving* discussions on a wide variety of techniques, such as knitting, braiding, looped netting, snowshoe lacing, etc. (1981(a)). Anne Lambert in her work on the storage of textiles and costumes states that she uses for practical purposes the term textile in a broader context to include non-wovens as well as wovens (1983, p. 9).

---

[1] William Dahl, on textile machinery and production

The word **craft** is defined by Webster as "a branch of skilled work, requiring knowledge or a manual art" (1976, p. 528). In the phrase textile craft the word textile is an adjective. Webster defines this as "pertaining to or of a fabric" (1976, p. 2360). Emery defines **fabric** as a "generic term for a fibrous construction" (1980, p. xvi). Webster's defines fabric as "a cloth" (1976, p. 811), which in turn is defined as "something made by weaving, felting, knitting, knotting, bonding or crocheting natural or synthetic filaments or fibres and used in variations of texture, finish, weight, width, for clothing, upholstery, rugs, and industrial purposes" (ibid., p. 428). Emery gives a similar definition (1980, p. 86). She also notes that pliability is always implied in the use of the word cloth, but almost never explicitly stated (ibid, p. 208). Thus, basketry and mats and similar rigid products are not considered cloth, fabrics, or textiles even though the techniques may be similar or the same as weaving or other techniques producing textiles.

The term textile craft is defined in this study as a branch of skilled work pertaining to fabric. Specifically those crafts are meant which (a) produce yarns or fabrics (e.g., spinning and weaving), (b) produce items made from or with fabrics (e.g., sewing and quilting), and (c) treat fabrics with a substance (e.g., pigment as in painting of fabrics, or starch, as in ironing of collars).

Crafts which are closely associated with textile crafts, but do not pertain to textiles as defined above, such as leather work and straw weaving, were noted and accounted for in the course of this study. They are not discussed as thoroughly as the other (textile) crafts.

The term **fair** is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as "a periodical gathering of buyers and sellers in a place ordained by charter, statute or custom" (1961, Vol. IV, p. 25), but Webster recognizing the development of country fairs in Great Britain and North America during the nineteenth century, adds: "a competitive exhibition as of wares, farm products, livestock with prizes for excellence" (1976, p. 1717). The term fair in this study will adhere to Webster's latter definition.

The term **category** means a "class, a group of any kind in a general classification" (Webster, 1976, p. 352). In this study the term means a group of similar items entered at an agricultural fair, for which a first prize or special prize is awarded.

Alberta is that portion of the Continental Plain which is bounded in the north by the 60th parallel, in the east by the meridian 110° W, in the south by the 49th parallel, and in the west by the crest of the Rocky Mountains from the 49th parallel in a north-western direction till it intersects the meridian 120° W, and by the meridan 120° W till it intersects the 60th parallel (*Encyclopedia Canadiana,* 1961, Vol. I, p. 105).

Saskatchewan is that portion of the Continental Plain which is bounded in the north by the 60th parallel, in the east by the longitude 101° 30′ W and the meridian 102° W in the south by the 49th parallel, and in the west by the meridian 110° W (*Encyclopedia Canadiana,* 1962, Vol. IX, p. 213).

Both areas had come to be considered as part of Rupert's Land and to be under the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company by virtue of its charter of 1670. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company transferred the administration of Rupert's Land to the newly formed Dominion of Canada, and the area became part of the North West Territories. In 1882 the administrative districts of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed within the North West Territories. However, these districts did not completely coincide with the boundaries of the provinces with the same name, which were formed in 1905.

1.4 Limitations

This study discusses only the textile crafts represented on the prizewinners' lists of the selected agricultural fairs. Since the winners' lists were based on the prize lists set up by committee members of the agricultural societies, it can be expected that they reflect the interests of the members of these societies. Although most of the crafts listed are of European tradition, it does not necessarily follow that the prizewinners were of European descent only. Pupils of missionary schools were encouraged to send their entries to the annual fairs, and did so successfully (Nicks, 1982; MacEwan, 1950).

Although there were people of European stock in the area from the late eighteenth century on, and although their presence and that of their material culture influenced local textile traditions, this study confines itself to the early agricultural settlement period only. As such, it starts at 1879 the date of the first agricultural fair in the area (MacEwan, 1950) and ends at 1915. The outbreak of the First World War in late 1914 effectively stemmed the influx of immigrant settlers. Agricultural settlement continued after the war, but at a much slower rate, with more emphasis on mechanization.

Studies on prairie immigration and settlement generally use 1915 as a cut-off date (e.g. Jackel, 1982; Dawson & Younge, 1940). Studies on prairie agricultural development favor 1921 as that was the last year of a decade of prosperity for wheat farming, which was to contrast sharply with the less prosperous decades of the 1920s and 1930s. Since this study is concerned with the development of textile crafts during the early agricultural settlement years it uses 1915 as the later time limit.

2. Review of Literature

Introduction

This review consists of four parts: the literature of the history of Western Canadian textiles, the literature of the agricultural settlement of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the literature of the history of agricultural fairs, with emphasis on those held in Western Canada, and the literature on the research methods of historic textiles.

2.1 History of Western Canadian Textiles

This section discusses only literature published in the last thirty years. Needlecraft manuals, magazine and newspaper articles published between 1880 and 1915 --- mostly found in archives and museums --- are discussed in the chapter on the findings of the crafts. Although a number of interesting studies have been published on textile crafts in western Canada, none are cited in bibliographies on Western Canada, and few in those on textile history in North America. There are no entries on textile crafts in Bruce Peel's *Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953* (1976), in Ved Arora's *The Saskatchewan Bibliography* (1980), or in Gloria Strathern's *Alberta 1954-1979: A Provincial Bibliography* (1982). Very few works on Western Canadian textiles are cited in the bibliographic work by Beverly Gordon on domestic American textiles (1979), which includes works on Canadian textiles, and in Carol Fairbanks' and Sara B. Sundberg's bibliographic work on women in the American and Canadian West (1983).

What little there is must be pieced together from general studies on textile crafts in Canada, such as D.K. Burnham's *The Comfortable Arts* (1981(a)), from essays in a collection of articles on Canadian handicrafts in general (Green (Ed.), 1967), from studies on the crafts of ethnic groups in Canada (Bird, 1982; Lazarowich, 1983), and a few unpublished studies.

H.G. Green has edited *A Heritage of Canadian Handicrafts* which is a collection of essays on crafts, including textiles, practiced by ethnic groups in each province. Most of the essays suffer from the lack of a time frame. Although the making of cloth with home grown wool by the early pioneers in Saskatchewan and Alberta is mentioned for English speaking groups, the writers assure the reader that the Ukrainian and the Roumanian groups, for instance, discarded their textile crafts in favor of commercially available products (Green (Ed.), 1957, S.J. Hill, p. 192 and J.K. Richards, p. 186).

In her book *The Comfortable Arts* Dorothy Burnham includes a chapter on textile tradition in Western Canada. In this chapter she describes mostly Icelandic, Hutterite, Ukrainian and Doukhobor textiles, made in the prairie provinces and British Columbia. In the discussion Burnham concedes that more research is necessary because some assumptions about the textile crafts in Western Canada have turned out not to be true. The assumption that the settlers of Alberta and Saskatchewan did not need to spin and weave because yarn and cloth were commercially available, does not take into account that commercial yarn and cloth cost money, a commodity not all settlers had (1981 (a), p. 202).

Michael Bird and Terry Kobiyashi, on the other hand, found no spinning implements and very few looms in the West, while they were researching the crafts of German speaking peoples in Canada. They described the embroideries of the Hutterites in Western Canada (Bird & Kobiyashi, 1982, pp. 193-194). A few embroidered handkerchiefs made by Hutterites in Alberta are featured in *From the Heart: Folk Art in Canada*, a catalogue of Canadian Folk Crafts (Canadian Center for Folk Culture Studies, 1983).

In her study of Canadian spinning wheels Judith Buxton-Keenlyside discusses several wheels made in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. These wheels show Ukrainian, Russian, and German influences. Especially interesting is a series of home-made wheels inspired by the so-called Sifton wheel. This was made by a company in Sifton, Manitoba, which in turn was influenced by the features of traditional Ukrainian spinning wheels (Buxton-Keenlyside, 1980, pp. 192-197). Linda Lazarowich stated that Sifton wheels were a variant of the European castle wheel, and were made in the 1930s (1983, p. 78).

Mary Conroy includes the descriptions of a number of quilts in Western Canadian collections, in her work on the history of Canadian quilting *300 Years of Canada's Quiltmaking* (1976). There is also a short publication based on the examination of 25 shirts of Bukhovynian tradition, of which eight were made in Alberta. Showing details of construction and embroidery, this study touches on some technical adaptations by the pioneers from the Ukrainian province Bukhovynia to Western Canada (Orshinsky, 1974).

A series of interviews with Alberta spinners was videotaped in 1978-9 by Anne Lambert, professor of Clothing and Textiles of the University of Alberta. This series of tapes, entitled *Spinning in Alberta*, show the informants spinning, carding, and knitting while discussing these crafts as well as others, such as quilting, weaving, rughooking, and soapmaking. Most of the informants were descendants from Russian and Roumanian immigrants. All of them remembered their mother, grandmother, or occasionally a father spinning and knitting, to keep their families comfortably supplied with warm mitts, socks and caps.

Another set of interviews forms the basis of an unpublished study on spinning and weaving in Saskatchewan. Deborah Behm and Karen Leitch taped their interviews with about thirty weavers in Saskatchewan during the summer and fall of 1982. These interviews reveal the importance of the weaving classes sponsored by the Searle Grain Company during the early 1940s, as well as the influence of Oscar Beriau's *Home Weaving* and Kate Waterhouse's *Saskatchewan Dyes* on Saskatchewan weavers. The taped interviews, which are deposited in the Regina branch of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, are a rich source of information on weaving and other textile crafts, such as spinning, knitting, and dyeing. They may prove to be an excellent source for an interesting publication Behm and Leitch hope to produce in 1986, especially since the oral history is supplemented with archival research focused on the involvement of the Searle Grain Company.

Another study focusing on weaving classes of the Searle Grain company is Janet Hoskins' master's thesis *Weaving Education in Manitoba in the 1940s*. In this work Hoskins describes two weaving programmes: one organized by the Searle Grain Co. and another by the Societé d'Enseignment Post-Scolaire du Manitoba (S.E.P.M.), the Roman Catholic Adult Education organization. In addition Hoskins traces the history of spinning and weaving activities in Manitoba from the establishment of the Red River Colony in 1812 to the beginning of the S.E.P.M. and Searle Grain Co. programmes in the early 1940s. In the early nineteenth century the settlers of the Red River Colony hoped to raise cash for seed grain by the sale of home weaving. Several weaving and spinning instructors were sent to the Red River settlement. They found apt pupils but a lack of a stable supply of raw fiber. Governor George Simpson tried to encourage flax and hemp raising, which fizzled out as soon as his premiums were withdrawn. Raising sheep also met with considerable difficulties, as most of the early imported sheep did not survive transportation (1982, p. 19).

Gradually there was some success in home weaving. The Grey Nuns were able to weave enough fabric for their own use and to raise funds for their charitable projects from 1847 on (ibid., p. 24). In 1848 a fulling mill was established. This was somewhat too optimistic, as the mill needed at least 100 yards of fabric in order to run, while the largest piece of cloth made in the area was only 25 yards (ibid., p. 25). In 1873 there were enough sheep in the area to warrant the establishment of a woolen mill. This mill did not work continuously. It was burnt in 1874, but it appeared to work again in 1880 (ibid., p. 27-28).

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the establishment of workshops for the railway company brought prosperity and attracted enough merchants to break the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company as supplier of fabrics and yarns. From that time on, homeweaving was no longer essential, except in the smaller, more isolated, communities of Manitoba (ibid., p. 31).

Another recent master's thesis on weaving in the Western Canada is that of Linda Lazarowich. Her study is especially interesting because it gainsays the statements of S.J. Hill and J.K. Richards about the textile tradition of Eastern European immigrants. According to Hill and Richards, the immigrants dropped their spinning and weaving skills as soon as they arrived in Western Canada (Green (Ed.), 1967, p. 162 and p. 186). Lazarowich found that many Ukrainian immigrants continued to produce the clothing for their families and household textiles, as they did in Eastern Europe. Although clothing and household linens were available through mail order catalogues, most Eastern European immigrants earmarked their cash for the purchase of live stock, farm equipment, or land (1983, pp. 64-65). Lazarowich relates that weaving was usually done during the winter, while the homegrown wool, flax and hemp were prepared for spinning during the summer (ibid., pp. 63-64). Although a few immigrants brought a complete spinning wheel or loom, most brought the less bulky tools for textile production with them, and some of the essential but easily portable parts of their looms, such as the reed. Most looms of the Ukrainian settlers were made in Canada from local materials (ibid., p. 64).

By the 1920s most of the Eastern European immigrants were prosperous enough to buy commercially made fabrics and yarns. It is during this period that home spinning and weaving were no longer considered necessary, and embroidery and egg painting were preferred as traditional crafts. The depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s led many women, who still possessed weaving and spinning skills, to take these crafts up again, this time to raise extra income for the family (ibid., p. 66). Lazarowich states that most of the spinning wheels of Ukrainian families were made during the 1930s, although many women preferred their drop spindles even at that time (ibid., p. 78).

A catalogue on quiltmaking in Alberta was recently published by Sandra Morton Weizman and Elyse Eliot-Los. The accompanying essay in the catalogue goes deeper into the history of quiltmaking than the article written by Eliot-Los for the *Alberta Museums Review* in 1983. By interviewing the quiltmakers or their descendants and the quilt owners, as well as locating and documenting quilts made in Alberta, the authors succeed in describing the social aspects of the craft, as well as the aesthetic and technical ones, from the late 19th Century to the present day. Weizman and Eliot-Los stress that more of this type of research is necessary if the museums of Western Canada are to preserve the heritage of the area (1984, p. 9).

Textiles are touched upon in a short essay in a small catalogue of handcrafts made by French-speaking people in Manitoba (Mulaire, 1976). An article on the social aspects of knitting during the First World War was published recently in the *Alberta Museums Review* (Fallis, 1984). In an earlier issue of the *Alberta Museums Review*, Marlene Smith discussed a loom found in Legal, Alberta. This loom was for five generations in the possession of a family who originated from Quebec, and has been used in Alberta since 1924 to make ragrugs (Smith, 1983).

2.2 History of the Agricultural Settlement of Alberta and Saskatchewan

One of the earlier works on the agricultural settlement of Alberta and Saskatchewan is G.E. Britnell s *The Wheat Economy* (1939). This work deals with the history of wheat farming particularly in Saskatchewan. Britnell places the rural farmer at the center of his study, rather than the development of institutions and organizations. Because of this orientation, *The Wheat Economy* contains more information on the daily life of the pioneer farmer than other studies on the agricultural settlement of the Canadian West, such as MacGregor's *A History of Alberta* (1972) or Douglas Hill's *The Opening of the Canadian West* (1973).

Another early study is the *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement* series, edited by W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg, which was published in nine volumes from 1936 to 1940. In the second volume A.S. Morton and Chester Martin address themselves to the history of the agricultural settlement and its relation to the dominion land policies. Morton discusses among other things the hardships met by the pioneers before suitable agrarian techniques were developed, such as summer fallowing and dry farming.

In the eighth volume C.A. Dawson and E.R. Younge devote a chapter to the agricultural settlement of the Canadian prairies in terms of a cycle. The pioneer started out to become selfsufficient, and then developed into a more advanced form of farming by the adoption of mechanization and crop specialization. Dawson and Younge concentrate on the pioneer for whom this process was relatively short. They recognize that this development is very uneven, and recommend that a more detailed study to find the variables that may account for this uneven development (Dawson & Younge, 1940, p. 27).

Similar to the settlement cycle is the frontier thesis, developed in the 1890s, by Frederick Turner. This is discussed by R.A. Billington in his *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (1949). The frontier thesis states in part that the pioneers arriving at the frontier had to be willing to drop part of their cultural baggage, and adapt the remainder of it to meet the demands of their new environment. Traditional specialization was dropped or transformed as unfamiliar conditions and lack of specialists called for a Jack-of-all-trades approach. According to Billington, as the frontier grew more complex more rigid government and economic specialization, the hallmark of a "mature society", reappeared (1949, pp. 2-7).

In the main body of his book Billington discusses the factors contributing towards the settlement of the prairies of the United States, such as the development of the railroads, government policies and land acts, a growing world demand for cheap wheat, and the developments of the steel plow and fast maturing wheat. He also points out the factors contributing to the delay of this settlement until the last forty years of the nineteenth century, the foremost being the tendency of the eastern farmer to judge the potential productivity of land by the amount of tree cover it supported, and agrarian practices that depended heavily on a ready supply of water. Many of the considerations relating to the settlement of the prairies in the United States, are also valid for the settlement of the Canadian West.

James Gray in *Boomtime: Peopling the Canadian Prairies* (1979), describes the settlement process with special emphasis on the role of Clifford Sifton. In contrast to Dawson and Younge, Gray analyzes the different experiences of the different groups of immigrants. Gray points out that not all pioneers were farmers, nor did they all come well equipped with farm implements, livestock and cash. Many had to borrow money in order to come over to Canada, others were town people, inexperienced in farming. With Gray's work as a guide one may identify some of the variables that Dawson and Younge were looking for: the amount of equipment and cash a pioneer was able to bring with him, the type of land he chose, and his willingness to specialize in wheat production.

J.W. Grant MacEwan in his *Illustrated History of Western Canadian Agriculture* (1980), reviews the points raised by Britnell and Billington, and illustrates them with quotes from documents as well as with photographs.

2.3 History of Agricultural Fairs in Western Canada

The history of agricultural fairs and their role in the newly established communities of Western Canada is covered by J.W. Grant MacEwan (*Agriculture on Parade*, 1950) and David C. Jones (*Midways, Judges and Smooth-Tongued Fakirs*, 1983). Both books mention textile crafts only in passing. MacEwan states that many of the agricultural societies were formed as soon as a new community was established (1950, pp. 2, 28), and stresses the educational value of the fairs and their role in creating standards for improvements in farming. However, MacEwan concentrates more on the history of the organizations themselves, and their general interest in livestock.

Jones studied Western Canadian fairs from a social perspective. He was especially interested in the relationship between the annual fairs and the Country Life Movement. The theme of the book is the dichotomy found at most country fairs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century fairs. On one hand there was the influence of the original educational purpose of the fair, which was reinforced by the Country Life Movement. On the other hand there was the tendency to offer amusement and distraction. In a 1985 article Jones stated that the educational aspects of the country dating from the late 18th and early 19th century always had to compete with the commercialism and entertainment, which were the more traditional aspects of the fairs. He concluded that by the late 1920s agricultural education had failed to become the more important aspect of agricultural fairs (Jones, 1985).

In a 1981 article and in a chapter on women's work at agricultural fairs in his book Jones raised two interesting points: (a) the difficulty of judging women's work, the class in which most of the textile crafts fell; (b) the implication that most farmers resented the amounts of money awarded to textile entries.

In the early years there were no set standards for judging women's work. Most of the food entries, for instance, were never tasted, but were judged on appearance alone. Jones points out that while great care was taken by the organizers of the fairs to have the best judges available for the livestock competitions, the judging of women's work was left to anyone who was at hand. The belief that anyone could judge women's work was widespread (Jones, 1983, pp. 103, and 139).

Correspondence in the *Grain Grower's Guide* reveals that the items produced as "fancy work" were viewed as useless by many farmers. They argued that prize money awarded for such crafts was out of proportion to their utility and the time and energy spent making them, suggesting that the prizemoney would have been better used for livestock entries (Jones, 1983, pp. 101 and 138, and Jones, 1981)

W.C. Neely explains how agricultural societies in the United States, like those in Canada, have their roots in the agricultural fairs of Great Britain. These early societies in Britain and along the East Coast of the North American continent were formed by aristocrats and wealthy entrepreneurs interested in promoting higher agricultural standards (1935, p. 48). From 1811 till the late 1820s, agricultural societies in the United States gradually changed from learned societies for the landed gentry to institutions providing practical information to farmers (ibid., pp. 64-66). It was not until the 1840s, when the market for agricultural products expanded and federal and local governments were willing to subsidize annual fairs, that the average farmer could afford to become actively involved with agricultural societies (ibid., pp. 72-77). Despite the shift in status, the entrepreneurs and genteel townspeople remained an active element. In Western Canada it was usually the townspeople who established an agricultural society and farmers were the last to join (Jones, 1983, p. 118; Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 260,I,96).

Neely also explains that agricultural societies flourished during the opening of the American mid-west. They played an important role in the the settlement of the prairies during the second half of the 19th century, and in setting the standards for successful farming practices in the era before experimental farms and agricultural colleges. Neely states that the publication of prizewinners in local newspapers encouraged good farming practices on the principle that public recognition led to emulation (1935, p. 234).

In some countries agricultural fairs have played a special role in the history of textiles. In New England, in the early nineteenth century, handsome premiums were awarded to encourage domestic manufacture of textiles (Neely, 1935, p. 53). In Sweden, from the 1840s till late in the nineteenth century, agricultural societies worked to improve the standard of living of the Swedish peasantry by encouraging and improving cottage industries. The societies not only organized annual exhibitions of the best examples of a wide variety of handcrafts, especially of textiles, but also sent out instructors and instruction materials to interested communities and individuals (Nylen, 1968, p. 24). In Canada, only the Midland Agricultural Society in Western Ontario sought to encourage domestic textile crafts by suggesting that the directors attend their meetings in homespun garments. (Ontario Federation of Agricultural Societies, 1967, p. 10).

Several agricultural societies have published books on their history. One of these is Tony Cashman's *Edmonton Exhibition: The First Hundred Years* (1978). This book focuses mainly on the history of the organization, the development of the grounds, the buildings and the side attractions of the fair since 1910. Before that date Cashman offers no more than a collage of newspaper reports on agricultural fairs, not only on that of Edmonton, but also of other fairs.

Joan Frith's *Treatise of a Society* (1983), published by the Prince Albert Exhibition Association, covers not only the history of the agricultural association but also that of the community it served, with chapters on women's work and Indian exhibits. These chapters, illustrated with many photographs, describe prizewinners and interesting events such as demonstrations in lace making, crochet and other needlework.

F.H. Auld has written two articles on agricultural fairs in Saskatchewan. One traces the history of the Saskatchewan Agricultural Societies Association (formed in 1914) to a meeting of representatives of eight agricultural societies in 1887. This meeting was held to co-ordinate fair dates so that the interested fair goer could visit one fair after another "to exchange informed opinions with practical agriculturists and experienced sources" (1962, p. 2). Auld states that from 1898 on, the Department of Agriculture of the North West Territories arranged meetings with the societies to co-ordinate fair dates so that the livestock judges recommended by the Department could make efficient use of their time travelling from one fair to another. Later during such meetings the standardization of prize lists was also discussed (1961, p. 8).

In the second article Auld relates how the Territorial Fair of 1895 was conceived as a showcase of the North West Territories. It was to promote further settlement as well as to celebrate the achievements of the pioneers (1961, p. 19). Neither article mentions ladies' work or domestic manufacture, the two classes into which most of the textile crafts fell.

2.4 Research Methods for Historic Textiles

There are several ways to research historic textiles. One way is to study surviving artifacts. Studies such as *Keep Me Warm One Night* (H. Burnham & D.K. Burnham (1979), D.K. Burnham's *The Comfortable Arts*(1981(a)), and Judith Buxton-Keenlyside's work on Canadian spinning wheels (1980) were based mainly, but not totally, on artifacts. These works have added enormously to the body of knowledge of textiles in Canada. William Rathje, however, points out in his essay *Modern Material Culture Studies* that "the more abundant and persistent an item is during its period of use, the fewer examples are intentionally preserved" (1979, p. 11). Thus, a study based on surviving textiles alone may present a distorted picture of what actually took place.

Another approach is interviewing craftspeople. When done properly, it can provide information which cannot be gained otherwise (Kerlinger, 1979, p. 480; Reimer, 1984, p. 1). Gerald Pocius' *Textile Traditions of Eastern Newfoundland* is a good example of the use of interviews to collect data about the crafts practiced thirty or forty years ago. In another article Pocius describes the factors which contribute to the validity of the informant's evidence, and the pitfalls and limitations of oral history (Pocius, 1979, pp. 65-68). One obvious limitation is the lifespan of the informant, but under favorable conditions, i.e. when there is an intimate link between the topic of the study and the life and interests of the informant, reliable information can be gained for as far back as 150 years (ibid.). The key phrase seems to be "intimately connected with the life and/or interests". Pocius also warns that the further away in time the topic goes the more difficult it is to obtain information about it (Pocius, 1979, p. 66).

Oral history can be combined with the documentation of surviving artifacts. Such a combination seeks to take advantage of the strengths of both methods, while minimizing their weaknesses. This is done successfully by Barbara Ellen Jones who documented quilts and interviewed quilt makers and quilt owners of the Summerset County in Pennsylvania in 1969 (Jones, 1970). The Western Kentucky University Folklore and Folklife Collection organized a similar research of Kentucky quilts from 1970 to 1975 (Clarke, 1976). A similar multi-pronged approach was used by Weizman and Eliot-Los in their study of Alberta quilts in 1982-83 (1984).

Another method of studying material history is documentary research. This is the traditional approach of historical scholarship. Though this scholarship used to focus on "great deeds done by great men" (Thorpe, 1979, p. 9), recent interest tends to include every-day life as well (Thorpe, 1979; Mannion, 1979, p. 23). Documentary research gives historians the opportunity to place their topic of interest in a wider social context (Mannion, 1979).

N.H. Compton and O.A. Hall recognize the use of "expressive documents" such as personal letters, diaries, or memoires, as an important source of information. They warn against relying solely on them, since expressive documents can seldom be treated in a rigorous way to test hypotheses. Official documents on the other hand are kept consistently, with care for accuracy, and are usually preserved in complete sets. Such documents can be subjected to tests in order to prove or disprove hypotheses (Compton & Hall, 1972, p. 63). At the start of this study the prizewinners' lists of agricultural fairs appeared to be just such a set of systematically kept and completely preserved data that could be subjected to testing.

An example of a study using a variety of documents, mainly official archival material, is that of David-Thierry Ruddel on domestic textile industry in Quebec from 1792 to 1835. Ruddel analyzed mainly *postmortem* inventories, but also studied labor contracts, commercial correspondence, advertisements in newspapers and census data (1983, p. 79).

A rigorous method to research documentary data is content analysis. Developed at first to study overt, and later hidden, content in communications such as novels, newspapers, speeches, etc., content analysis has been applied to an ever wider range of topics such as climatic conditions (Moodie & Catchpole, 1975) and material history, such as the development of chairs (Lane & Stewart, 1980), historic Japanese textiles (Richards, 1983) and historic costumes (Peabody, 1979; Paoletti, 1982). J.B. Paoletti lists a number of studies on costume history using content analysis. She recommends that it be used more, especially to complement the traditional impressionistic approach to documentary research (1982, p.15).

O.R. Holsti in his text on content analysis offers several definitions, all of which fit the study of non-material culture better than that of material culture (1969, pp. 2-3). D.W. Moodie and A.J.W. Catchpole describe content analysis as a method which requires the formulation of explicit propositions, the development of relevant categories of analysis, and the systematic and objective collection of information to test the initial formulations (Moodie & Catchpole, 1975, p. 7). This is exactly the process that Holsti describes in his *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (1969). Such a methodology seeks to eliminate the subjective elements, found in traditional historic scholarship. Catchpole and Moodie stress the importance of asking questions that will yield numerical answers.

Moodie and Catchpole conducted a content analysis of eighteenth and nineteenth century logbooks with respect to freeze-up and break-up of estuaries. Although this research was not focused on material culture, their monograph is relevant because of two things. One is Moodie and Catchpole's careful description of the way they recognized phrases in the logbooks as descriptors of certain phases in a modern theory of freeze-up and break-up of ice. The other is the description of the way they resolved the modern theory into categories into which the historical phrases fitted. This "forging of links" between the historical logbooks and the modern theory is also important for areas other than environmental studies (1975, p. 10).

In her exploratory study on historic arctic clothing worn by non-natives, Barbara Schweger (1983) developed a systematic and objective approach to the collection of information from several types of documentary sources. These include expressive documents as well as official ones, visual works, such as engravings and watercolors, written records as well as actual artifacts. Schweger points out the absolute necessity of carefully outlining the coding rules of the categories before the actual study, and the importance of the reliability and validity of the documents with respect to what the researcher wants to extract from them (1983, pp. 167-168).

3. Methodology

Introduction

This chapter discusses the design of the inquiry, the pilot study, coding rules, sampling, data gathering and the statistical analysis procedures.

3.1 Design of the Inquiry

The design of the inquiry is an adaptation from Moodie and Catchpole's study described in the previous chapter. Instead of log books this study used prizewinners' lists of agricultural fairs published in local newspapers in Alberta and Saskatchewan between 1879 and 1915. Prizewinners' lists contain the following information: (a) the community in which the fair was held, (b) the date of the fair, (c) the categories, and (d) the names of the prizewinners. Often the names of the judges, the amount of the prizemoney, and the place of residence of the winners were published as well. The categories contain terms indicating a craft or a technique (e.g., "embroidery with silk" or "macramé"), or an item produced by a textile craft (e.g., "ladies' apron", or both (e.g., "knitted socks").

In this study, each category containing terms indicating a textile craft or an item produced by a textile craft, was considered a separate recording unit, measuring one instance of the actual practice of a textile craft. Thus, prizewinners' lists of a selected number of fairs were scanned for categories indicating textile crafts or the products of textile crafts. A pilot study was necessary to explore the data, to learn to recognize the historic terms, and to develop relevant categories of analysis and coding rules.

3.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted on the prizewinners' lists of the Edmonton and Yorkton fairs. During this study it was found that some terms used between 1880 and 1915 did not carry the same meaning as they do in 1985. In the late nineteenth century, for instance, the term "braiding" referred to a type of embroidery and not to a type of fingerweaving. All terms on the winners' list were therefore carefully scrutinized and compared with the terms found in needlework manuals, magazines and newspaper columns of the period. These descriptions were then compared to definitions of crafts and techniques provided by Irene Emery's *Primary Structures of Textiles* (1980), and by

Dorothy Burnhams's *A Textile Terminology: Warp and Weft* (1981 (b)).

Once the meaning of the historic terms were placed within the framework of modern definitions, a set of coding rules was produced. These rules were tested by graduate students in the clothing and textiles department of the Faculty of Home Economics of the University of Alberta. The set of coding rules is discussed later in this chapter.

Another result of the pilot study was a list of sixteen textile crafts. During the actual study four other crafts were recognized, plus separate aspects of both lace making and knitting. Other results of the pilot study were the design of a worksheet, on which the raw data could be collected and coded, and a set of commands for a statistical computer program (SPSSx) to analyze the coded data.

Twenty four values were created for the variable Textile Craft. This is one value for each of twenty identified crafts, two for the extra aspects of lace making and knitting, one for the specific choice between crochet and knitting, and one for those categories which did not unequivocally indicate a specific textile craft.

Thirty seven years were recognized: from 1879, when the first fair in the area was held in Edmonton, till 1915. No fairs were held in the area in 1880 and 1881. Thus 37 values were created for the variable Time.

For practical reasons it was decided to limit the number of communities to ten, five in each province. The selection process of these communities will be discussed later in this chapter. Ten values were created for the variable Location, one for each of the selected communities.

During the pilot study 140 values were recognized for the variable Item, one for each of the different types of articles as they appeared on the prizewinnners' lists. These variables range from yarn to a variety of garments, household textiles, and decorative items.

3.3 Coding Rules

Coding rules were developed during the pilot study, and were kept as simple as possible. They were based on the knowledge gained by the study of textile collections, needlecraft manuals, and magazines published during the period. This section describes the criteria by which the categories appearing in the prizewinners' lists were coded:

Beadwork

Categories with the term beadwork were coded as beadwork.

Crochet

Categories with the term crochet were coded as crochet.

Embroidery

Terms indicating an embroidery technique were: appliqué, Berlin woolwork, braiding, crewel, cros stitch, cutwork, darning on net, drawnwork, Hardanger, Hedebo, hemstitching, monogramming, Mountmellick, outline work, punchwork, Rambler Rose, ribbonwork, smocking, and tinselwork. Categories with the term embroidery, as in "eyelet embroidery" or "Russian embroidery", were also coded as embroidery.

Hairwork

Categories with the term hairwork were coded as hairwork.

Homemade Flowers

Categories with the term wool flowers or homemade flowers from fabric were coded as homemade flowers.

Knitting

Categories with the term knitting were coded as knitting. In addition, categories with the terms socks, stockings, mitts, and gloves were coded as knitting, whether the term itself appears in the category or not, except when another craft is mentioned such as crochet gloves.

Knitting with Homespun

Categories with terms indicating both knitting and spinning as in "knitted socks, homespun", were coded as knitting with homespun.

Lace Making

Webster's second definition for lace is "an openwork fabric with a ground of mesh or net on which patterns may be worked at the same time as the ground, or applied later, and which is made of thread by looping, twisting, or knotting, either by hand with a needle or bobbins, or by machinery". Webster adds "similar fabric made by crochet, tatting, darning, embroidery, weaving or knitting" (1976, p. 1260). This study assumed that the writers of the prize lists most likely thought of lace in Webster's additional definition.

Therefore, only those categories which imply a bobbin lace (e.g., Honiton) or a needle lace (e.g., point lace) were coded as needle and bobbin lace: point lace, Cluny, Battenberg, duchesse, Honiton, princess lace, and Teneriffe.

Categories with the term lace or lacework without any further specification were coded as general lace. Irish lace was coded as miscellaneous, since it could either be crochet, a type of net embroidery, or real needle lace. Tatting was coded as a separate craft.

Laundry

Categories with the term laundered, ironed, or starched were coded as laundering.

Leatherwork

Categories with the term leather, moccasin, dressed robe, or undressed robe were coded as leatherwork. An exception was embroidery on leather, which was coded as embroidery.

Macramé

Categories coded as macramé contained the term macramé, a variation of its spelling, or a term referring to the technique involved, e.g. "knotwork".

Mending

Categories with the term darning, patching, or mending were coded as mending. An exception was darned net, a type of embroidery, and coded as such.

Netting

Categories with the term netting were coded as netting. An exception was the term darned netting which is a form of embroidery and was coded as such.

Painting on Fabric

Categories with the term painting were usually accompanied by a term referring to the fabric (velvet, silk, bolting cloth) or the medium used (oil, watercolour). Categories with the terms spatterwork and stencilling were coded as painting on fabric.

Quilting

Categories with the term quilt were coded as quilting, unless another craft was mentioned, as in "knitted quilt". In this case the word quilt is used as a synonym for bedspread, and was coded as knitting

Items

Items produced by the textile crafts were recorded and coded as well. One hundred and forty values were created for the variable Item, one for each different kind of item, including one value for categories in which a specific item is not indicated (e.g., "fancy crochet").

3.4 Sampling Procedure

3.4.1 Description of the Population

Correspondence with the Communities Service Branch of Alberta Agriculture and checks of both newspapers and the records of the Department of Agriculture of the North West Territories in the Provincial Archives of Alberta, resulted in a list of Alberta communities, in which an agricultural society had been established before 1900:

Edmonton (1879),
Calgary (1884),
Fort Macleod (1886),
Fort Saskatchewan (1894-1936),
Red Deer (1890),
Lethbridge (1896),
Wetaskiwin (1898).

Correspondence with the Saskatchewan Agricultural Societies' Association revealed that the following communities had active agricultural societies before 1900 :

Battleford (1884),
Yorkton (1884),
Moosejaw (1884),
Prince Albert (1884),
Whitewood (1884),
Grenfell (1884),
Broadview (1884),
Moosomin (1885),
Churchbridge (1885),
Saskatoon (1886),
Carnduff (1886),
Maple Creek (1887),
Saltcoats (1888),
Alameda (1890),
Fairmede (1892),
Gainsborough (1895),
Rossthern (1895).

Checking these lists with other sources revealed some discrepancies. MacEwan stated that Fort Macleod had an agricultural society holding fairs since 1886 (1950, p. 31, and 1980, pp. 62-63), while according to the Communities Service Branch Fort Macleod established an agricultural society in 1907. Perusal of the papers of the Agricultural Department of the North West Territories, revealed that the Agricultural Society of Fort Macleod received grants for prizemonies given at a fair as early as 1905 (Provincial Archives of Alberta, 73.316.19a). It also revealed records of the Medicine Hat Agricultural Association from 1907 to 1914 (Provincial Archives of Alberta, 73.316.41).

A check of the microfilm of *The Medicine Hat Weekly News* and *The Fort Macleod Gazette* revealed that both Fort Macleod and Medicine Hat have had annual agricultural Fairs since 1886. The Medicine Hat Fair changed some time after 1915 into a summer rodeo.

The list of the Saskatchewan Agricultural Societies' Association does not list an agricultural society of Regina. MacEwan states that the Regina Association was established in 1884 (1950, p. 31 and 1980, pp. 62-63).

3.4.2 Selection Criteria

In order to keep the study manageable it was decided to limit the number of selected communities to ten, five for each province. There were three main criteria for the selection of these communities.

I. Time Span

To obtain prizewinners' lists extending over at least 25 years, those communities were preferred with agricultural societies established before 1890. Preference was given to societies which are still active, as this will make future studies possible, continuing the analysis up to the present.

II. Size

It was hoped to represent smaller as well as larger fairs in the sample. In the *Modeltown Agricultural Society Prizelist* of 1913, the Department of Agriculture of the Government of Saskatchewan explains that the fairs are classified according the the amount of prize money awarded. Fairs awarding more than $2,400 were classified as **A fairs**, those awarding between $ 1,200 and $2,400 were classified as **B fairs**, while fairs awarding less than $ 1,200 were classified as **C fairs**. It was expected that the more prize money a society had, the more extended its prize list would be, and that societies with less money would scale down the number of categories according to the needs of their

Table 3.1: Agricultural societies in Alberta established before 1900

Location	Period of Activity	Type of Fair 1915/17
Edmonton	1879-Present	A
Calgary	1884-Present	A
Medicine Hat	1886-Present	B
Macleod	1885-1950	-
Red Deer	1890-Present	B
Ft. Saskatchewan	1894-1936	-
Lethbridge	1896-Present	B
Wetaskiwin	1898-Present	-

Note:
- = not a member of the Western Canadian Fair Association in 1915 or 1917

farming communities. A society with only a modest amount of prize money available had a low number of categories, which would take only one day to judge. Thus C fairs seldom lasted more than one day. B fairs with more categories on their prize lists, would need at least two or three days to judge all the categories, and A fairs could last three to five days (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, Pamphlet file).

As a war measures act in 1915, the Government sponsored only fairs of proven standing, which were members of the Western Canadian Fair Association. At that time Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, and Saskatoon, were already members of the Association as A fairs, and Red Deer, North Battleford, and Prince Albert as B fairs. In 1917 Yorkton, Lethbridge, Weyburn, Moosejaw, Swift Current, Camrose, and Medicine Hat, all being B fairs, joined the Western Canada Fair Association (Wright, n.d., Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, Pamphlet Box).

III. Dispersion

In order to make generalizations possible on textile craft practices, the communities selected were as widely dispersed, geographically, as possible (see figure 3.1). Table 3.1 shows a list of agricultural societies established in Alberta before 1900 with the selection criteria.

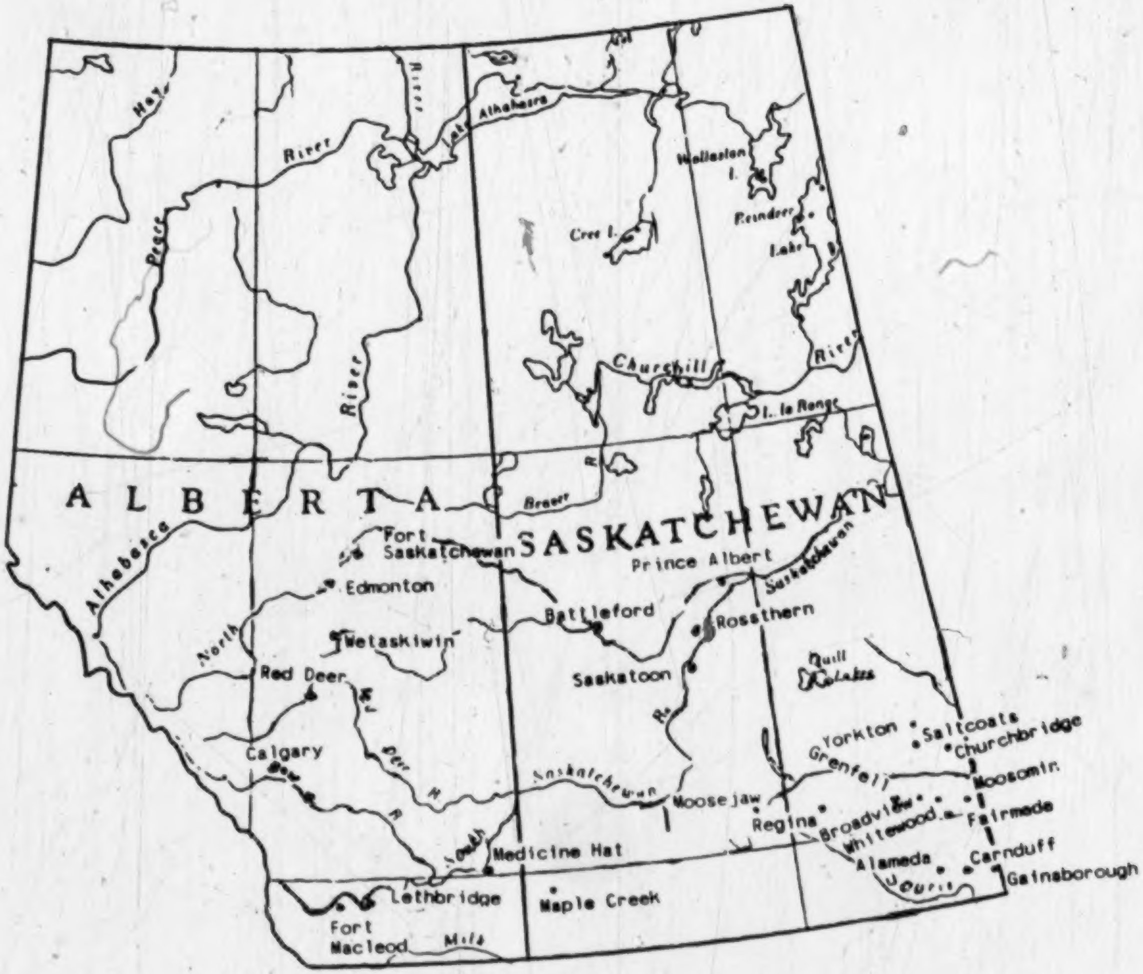

Figure 3.1: Agricultural societies of Alberta and Saskatchewan established before 1900

3.4.3 Selection

The Edmonton, Calgary and Medicine Hat agricultural societies fulfill the requirements of being established before 1890 and still being active. The first two are class A fairs, the latter is a B fair. Red Deer and Lethbridge, although established in the 1890s, were members of the Western Canada Fair Association in 1915 or in 1917. Fort Macleod had an agricultural fair from 1886 on, but was not a member of the Western Canada Fair Association in 1915 nor in 1917, and there is no information as to the type of fair it was. Fort Saskatatchewan and Wetaskiwin were established in the 1890s, but were not members of the Western Canada Fair Association either. Although Camrose was a member of this association in 1917, it was not established before 1900.

It was therefore decided to choose two fairs established in the 1890s, which were as far apart as possible, geographically, from Edmonton, Calgary and Medicine Hat. These two fairs were in Red Deer and Lethbridge.

Since the choice in Saskatchwan is much greater, it was decided to choose communities with matching classification of the selected Alberta fairs. The A fairs were Regina and Saskatoon. The three B fairs were selected from the societies established in the 1880s, and geographically as far apart from Regina and Saskatoon as possible. The three Saskatchewan B fairs were Prince Albert, the Battlefords, and Yorkton.

3.5 Procedure

Data were collected from the following newspapers:

The Alberta Advocate (Red Deer),
The Albertan (Calgary),
The Battleford Telegraph,
The Calgary Herald,
Calgary News Telegram,
The Calgary Tribune,
The Edmonton Bulletin,
The Edmonton Journal,
The Innisfail Freelance,
The Lethbridge Herald,
The Lethbridge News,
The Red Deer Advocate,
The Medicine Hat Daily,
The Medicine Hat Weekly News,
The North Battleford Advertiser,
The Prince Albert Advocate,
The Prince Albert Times,
The Regina Leader,
The Saskatoon Phoenix,
The Saskatchewan Herald (Battleford),

The Yorkton Enterprise.

The holdings of the libraries of the University of Alberta and the Provincial Archives of Alberta contain a complete set of microfilms of Alberta newspapers. The University of Alberta also has an extensive microfilm collection of Saskatchewan newspapers, especially of those dating before 1900. Microfilms of the smaller Saskatchewan newspapers, such as *The Yorkton Enterprise* and *The Battleford Telegraph* are in the holdings of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, which has a complete set of microfilms of Saskatchewan newspapers.

A worksheet was developed to collect the following data from the prize lists:

identification number of each case,
location,
year,
class in which the case is found,
category,
names and residences of prizewinners,
names of the judges,
source of the data (i.e., the newspaper).

In addition there was space to enter the codes for location, year, craft and the article of each category (see appendix A). Only the following data were entered in a computer data base for statistical analysis:

the identification number of each case,
location code,
year code,
textile craft code,
the article code.

All data were transferred from the worksheets to Optical Marking Recording (OMR) sheets. This enabled the researcher to scan the data for possible mistakes, and ensured that only clean data were used for the statistical analysis.

3.6 Analysis of the Data

Since the type of measurement of the variables Time, Craft and Location was nominal, and since the pilot study revealed that the frequency distributions of the values Craft over Time and Location were multi-modal, the statistical analysis of change in the crafts over time was confined to descriptive statistics only. Frequency distributions and cross-tabulations of crafts over Time by Location were used to identify changes in the number of categories of each craft.

Since the number of values for each of the variables was large (24 for the Craft, 37 for the Time, and ten for the Location), the statistical analysis of marked differences among localities was confined to comparison of the number of craft categories of each location. Conversion of frequency distributions into percentages standardized the results, making comparisons of smaller B fairs with the larger A fairs possible.

4. Findings: The Selected Communities

Introduction

This chapter deals with the findings of the textile craft categories on the prizewinners' lists of each of the selected communities from 1879 to 1915. The analysis of each community is presented separately, preceded by a short discussion of the history of the community and the relationship to its agricultural fair.

4.1 General Remarks

The selected ten communities represent most aspects of the history of agrarian and urban settlement on the prairies. The first European newcomers were the fur traders. This aspect is represented by Edmonton, which was established in 1795 by the Hudson's Bay Company as a supply depot. The next newcomers were the missionaries. The Oblate Fathers and the Grey Nuns established a mission close to Edmonton in the 1860s; the Presbyterians founded a mission at Prince Albert in 1866. Prospectors and miners looking for gold came during the 1860s. One of them found a coal deposit and started a mine at what is now Lethbridge. Agricultural settlers gradually formed small communities in the tree covered parklands along the trails supplementing the river transportation system. Prince Albert, Battleford and Edmonton were such communities. The southern mixed grasslands attracted ranchers at Medicine Hat, Red Deer and Calgary in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Since individual settlement was very slow in filling up the prairies, the Government of Canada permitted several land companies to colonize large tracts of what is now Saskatchewan (Morton and Martin, 1938, p. 54). Saskatoon was formed by Temperance Colony settlers, and Yorkton by the York Farmers' Colony from Toronto.

Patterns of transportation were a vital aspect of the development of communities. Situated along the Saskatchewan River, the main artery of the North West Territories, Prince Albert, Battleford and Edmonton were the most important communities before the construction of the railways (Morton, 1938, p. 50). Instead of connecting these well-established towns, the railroad was constructed along a more southerly route, to Regina, Medicine Hat, and Calgary. These communuties rose immediately into prominence because of the changed patterns of transportation of freight and incoming settlers.

The three older and by-passed communities were linked with a railroad network years later. The construction stopped short on the southern bank of the North Saskatchewan River and created Strathcona across from Edmonton, and bypassed Battleford on the north bank of the same river.

The efforts of the Government of Canada to attract immigrants started to show results at the turn of the century. Settlers came not only from Eastern Canada, the United States and Great Britain, but from Western and later Eastern Europe. The earlier pioneers profited by selling these newcomers food, farm equipment, livestock and land. While a number of the earlier settlers were thus able to stop farming and to start living an urban middle class life style, many worried about the impact the Eastern European immigrants would have on the future society on the prairies (Palmer, 1983, pp. 28-29; 1971, p. 3 and p. 12).

In 1905 measures were taken to slow down immigration, but the results were not seen till late 1914 (Britnell, 1939, p. 36; Gray, 1979, p. 119). This sharp decrease in immigration was felt as a depression in the booming real-estate. However, high prices for wheat (Murchie et al., 1936, p. 18), and the tendency from the turn of the century on to enlarge the farms from the basic 160 acres granted by the government up to 400 acres (Britnell, 1939, p. 39; Gray, 1979, p. 69) kept the prairie communities prosperous till the end of the World War I.

4.2 Edmonton

Edmonton was the first community to hold an agricultural fair on the prairies of Saskatchewan and Alberta. This was in 1879. At that time Edmonton was little more than a Hudson's Bay Company supply post, with a few retired trappers, servants, and miners (Ockley, 1931, p. 22). A North West Mounted Police post and a missionary school were close by, but at Edmonton there were no more than 150 people (MacGregor, 1972, p. 161). Since Edmonton was a supply post for the fur trade in the North, the Hudson's Bay Company had an interest in locally grown grain and vegetables. In the late 1870s the Company became interested in locally grown livestock when the buffalo herds had dwindled (MacEwan, 1980, p. 62). Thus it was not without business interest that Richard Hardisty of the Hudson's Bay Company offered the use of the grounds of the Fort for the livestock exhibits and two rooms of the great hall, one for the vegetable and grain exhibits and the other for the domestic manufactures and ladies' work.

This first fair was a great success (*The Saskatchewan Herald*, Nov. 17, 1879). It was a disappointment that the second fair was not held the next year (*The Saskatchewan Herald*, Nov. 8, 1880; McCrum, 1978, p. 51). This failure was apparently due to a misunderstanding among the organizers. The editor of *The Saskatchewan Herald* suggested that most of the farmers around Edmonton probably took advantage of the fine harvest weather(*The Saskatchewan Herald*, ibid.). The Edmonton Agricultural Society also had other troubles, because it failed to procure the seed grain it had promised to buy the year before (*The Edmonton Bulletin*, Sept. 30, 1882).

In 1882, the second fair was held, the first of a series of annual fairs uninterrupted till 1896. During these years Edmonton had grown from a Hudson's Bay Company supply post to a town, incorporated in 1892, with more than 700 residents (MacGregor, 1981, p. 153). From 1891 on, a branch line operated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company linked Edmonton to the transcontinental railroad. This lifeline, however, reached only to the southern bank of the North Saskatchewan River. To the indignant astonishment of the people of Edmonton, the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. was not prepared to extend the track over the river. Immediately another town, Strathcona, grew up around this 'end of the steel'. For the next twenty years Edmonton and Strathcona enjoyed a rivalry that included, from 1894 on, their agricultural societies. These annual fairs competed actually for very few years, since the Edmonton Agricultural Society became dormant after 1895, while the Strathcona fair flourished till 1912.

In 1901 the Edmonton Exhibition Association was formed, which held another long series of fairs. It was reorganized again in 1908, and brought innovations such as winter fairs, horse-shows, bull sales, and pari-mutuel machines (MacEwan, 1950, p. 71), but from 1908 till 1912 there were no classes of domestic manufacture and ladies' work on the prize lists. This was remedied in 1912 when the Edmonton and the Strathcona associations amalgamated (MacEwan, 1950, p. 71). "Women's Work" was featured again, with more than a hundred categories.

Meanwhile, Edmonton had expanded greatly. The population had increased from a little over 14,000 people in 1906, including Strathcona, to more than 36,500 residents in

1914. Enjoying the real estate boom that affected the whole North West Territories at that time, "half the offices on Jasper Avenue appeared to be for the sale of real estate". "Servant girls were putting their savings into a building lot, which they expected to sell in a year or two for double or treble what they gave for it" (Sykes, 1912, p. 86). In 1914, however, the boom was over. The resulting economic depression and unemployment was hardly relieved by the outbreak of the First World War.

Examination of the prizewinners' lists of the fairs reveal that, between 1879 and 1915, 1011 first prizes were awarded for textile crafts. Of these, 855 (85%) indicated a specific textile craft.

As table 4.1 indicates, embroidery accounts for about 30% of all categories in the Edmonton fair. Before 1895 the number of embroidery categories ranged between two and seven. From 1901 on, the number of categories increased from seven in 1902, to 38 in 1913, and 49 in 1915.

Knitting comprised about 15% of all craft categories. This percentage includes the 3% for categories featuring knitting with homespun yarn. Before 1895 there were four to seven categories annually for knitting, but from 1901 to 1908 fewer first prizes were awarded for it: only one to three annually and none in 1906. From 1912 on, interest in knitting apparently revived. In 1915 the category "knitting for the Red Cross" had 52 entries, some from as far as Vermillion.

Knitting with homespun yarn was featured only between 1886 and 1895. During this time the annual number of knitted homespun categories fluctuated from two to five. From 1902 till 1905, and from 1912 till 1915 there were twelve (.1%) first prizes awarded for categories stating a choice between crochet and knitting.

Crochet comprised about 8% of all textile craft categories. Before 1895 there were two to three categories in crochet annually. Between 1901 and 1907 the number of categories increased gradually. From 1912 on up to eleven first prizes awarded for crochet.

Sewing comprised about 7% of all winning categories. Before 1889 there was only one first prize for sewing (1879). From 1889 to 1895 sewing categories ranged from none to three per year. From 1901 on there was a slight increase. An exception was 1912, when there were ten sewing categories.

Table 4.1: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Edmonton agricultural fair, 1879-1915

Year	Bd	Cr	Em	Hw	Hf	Kn	Kh	K/C	Ln	Lg	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Sp	Ta	We	Le	Ns
1879	--	--	02	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	01
1882	01	01	04	01	--	04	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	01	02
1883	--	--	05	--	--	03	--	--	--	-	--	--	--	03	01	--	--	--	--	--	02
1884	--	02	05	--	--	04	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	02	01	--	--	--	--	--	02
1885	--	01	03	--	--	08	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	02
1886	01	02	04	--	-	04	04	--	--	01	01	--	--	01	02	--	01	--	01	--	04
1887	01	02	05	--	--	05	02	--	--	01	01	--	01	01	01	--	01	01	--	--	04
1888	01	01	07	--	--	07	05	--	--	01	01	--	01	02	01	--	--	01	--	04	04
1889	01	01	02	--	--	05	03	--	--	01	01	--	--	01	01	03	-	--	--	01	06
1890	01	01	04	--	--	06	02	--	--	01	01	--	--	01	01	03	01	--	--	05	06
1891	--	01	02	--	-	04	02	--	--	-	01	--	--	01	02	01	01	--	--	04	05
1892	01	02	04	--	01	04	04	--	--	01	--	--	03	01	03	--	01	--	--	02	07
1893	01	02	06	01	--	06	03	--	--	02	--	--	01	01	01	01	01	--	--	02	11
1894	01	02	04	01	--	06	03	--	--	01	01	--	--	01	02	03	01	--	01	01	07
1895	--	03	03	--	--	07	02	--	--	01	01	--	--	01	02	03	01	--	--	--	06
1901	--	01	09	--	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	--	04
1902	--	05	07	--	--	02	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	02	01	04	--	--	--	--	09
1903	01	04	12	--	--	02	--	01	03	--	--	01	01	04	02	05	--	01	--	--	10
1904	01	03	12	--	--	03	--	01	03	--	01	01	01	05	01	06	--	01	--	01	07
1905	01	04	15	--	--	01	--	01	02	--	01	01	01	05	02	04	--	01	--	--	10
1906	01	04	12	--	--	--	--	--	02	--	01	01	01	--	--	03	--	01	--	--	04
1907	--	03	10	--	--	01	--	--	02	--	01	01	01	03	01	01	--	--	--	01	03
1912	--	11	37	--	--	05	--	01	05	03	03	01	--	01	01	10	--	--	--	--	06
1913	--	05	38	--	--	09	--	02	--	02	01	01	--	02	01	04	--	--	--	--	05
1914	03	10	44	--	--	11	--	02	07	04	02	01	01	05	01	06	--	01	01	02	09
1915	--	11	49	--	01	08	--	03	03	03	05	--	01	05	01	15	01	--	--	--	10
%	1.6	8.2	30.2	.3	.4	11.7	3.0	1.2	2.7	2.5	2.3	.8	1.3	4.9	3.3	7.2	.9	.7	.3	2.4	14.4

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Hw = Hairwork
Hf = Homemade flowers

Kn = Knitting
Kh = Knitting Homespun
K/C = Knitting/Crochet
Ln = Needle/bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general

Me = Mending
Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing

Sp = Spinning
Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
Le = Leatherwork
Ns = Not Specified

Lace making accounted for more than 5% of all categories in Edmonton. This includes the more than 2.5% for needle and bobbin lace and 2.5% for lace in general. Before 1893 there was only one general lace category per year, except in 1883 and 1891. Between 1895 and 1902 there were no lace categories. The number of lace making categories increased slowly between 1903 and 1907. This increase accelerated after the textile categories were reinstated at the Edmonton fair.

Almost 5% of all textile categories were for quilting. There was usually at least one quilting category at each fair in Edmonton. Peak years were 1904, 1905, 1914, and 1915 when as many as five first prizes were won for quilts.

Rug making accounted for about 3% of all categories. There were usually one to two rugmaking categories per year throughout the period under study.

Edmonton was one of the eight communities featuring mending. Mending categories comprised less than 2.5% of all Edmonton categories. Before 1886 mending was not featured. From 1886 to 1895 and from 1903 to 1907 there was usually one mending category on the winners' list. 1904 was a peak year with four mending categories. From 1912 on the number of categories fluctuated between one in 1913 and five in 1915.

Edmonton was one of the seven communities featuring beadwork. It accounted for little more than 1.5% of all categories. There was often one beadwork category each year, except between 1883 and 1885, in 1891 and 1895. From 1900 on, beadwork was featured only from 1903 till 1906 and in 1914, when there were three categories.

Painting accounted for less than 1.5% of all categories. It was featured occasionally, in 1887 and 1888, from 1892 till 1894, from 1903 till 1907, and in 1914 and 1915.

Spinning alone acounted for less than 1% of all categories, but knitted homespun accounts for 3% of all categories in Edmonton. Homespun yarn and knitted homespun socks and stockings were regularly featured between 1886 and 1895.

Tatting accounted for less than 1% of all categories. One category was featured in 1887, 1888, from 1903 till 1906, and in 1915. Netting accounted for less than 1% of all categories. One category was featured every year from 1903 till 1914.

Rug Making

Categories with the terms mat, carpet or rug were coded as rugmaking. An exception was when yardage was mentioned, as in "ragcarpet, 10 yards". In this case the category was coded as weaving.

Sewing

There were many terms indicating sewing. Most often they described the item made (e.g., "apron" or "nightgown". If these terms were not modified with a term indicating anothercraft (e.g., "embroidered blouse") the category was coded as sewing. Categories with the terms plain stitching, sewing, or describing details of construction such as "plain hemming" or "buttonholes" were coded as sewing

Spinning

Categories with terms such as "skein of homemade yarn", or "homecarded, and spun wool" were coded as spinning.

Straw weaving

Categories with the term straw (e.g., "straw hat") were coded as straw weaving.

Tatting

Categories coded as tatting contained the term tatting.

Weaving

Categories coded as weaving contained the term woven, warp, or yardage (except if used to modify a term as in "lace trim, at least 5 yrds", in which case the category was coded as a lace). Blankets were also coded as weaving.

Choice of Craft

Categories stating a choice between crochet or knitting, e.g., "baby booties, knitted or crochet", were coded as choice of craft.

Miscellaneous

Categories which could not with certainty be coded as any of the previous crafts were coded as miscellaneous. Most of these categories named an item, without any indication of the craft involved, e.g., "lambrequin" or "chairback tidy". Other categories contained very general terms such as "best fancy work".

rendered Calgary invulnerable to the depression which most cities on the prairies suffered that year. Instead it grew even more and had a population of 72,000 residents by 1916.

Examination of the newspaper reports of the Calgary fair, reveal that there is no information available for the years 1893, 1894, 1905 and 1913. The prizewinners lists of 1893 and 1905 did not include the ladies' work and domestic manufacture classes, in which most of the textile crafts are found. In 1913 only a partial list of prizewinners in the Ladies Work class was published. The newspaper issue featuring the 1894 prizewinners' list was not microfilmed. Despite these lacunae 1156 categories were tabulated. Of these 1031, or 89%, contained indications of a specific textile craft.

As table 4.2 indicates, embroidery accounted for about 32% of all categories of the Calgary fairs till 1915. From 1886 till 1892 embroidery categories fluctuated between four in 1887 and fourteen in 1888. From 1900 till 1907 the number of categories fluctuated between three in 1900 and 1903, to eleven in 1904. From 1908 on, the number of categories increased enormously (48 in 1908).

Knitting comprised almost 12% of all Calgary categories. From 1886 to 1892 the number of knitting categories ranged from five to seven, except in 1888 when there were ten knitting categories. Between 1900 to 1907 the number of categories decreased slightly, but from 1908 on, knitting categories increased again ranging from nine (1915) to fourteen (1910). From 1908 on, two to seven first prizes were awarded annually for categories stating a choice between crochet and knitting. Thirty first prizes (or almost 3%) were awarded for categories stating such a choice.

There was one report of a commercial knitting exhibit at the Calgary fair: In 1890 *The Calgary Tribune* mentioned the work of a Mrs. Leishman and her knitting machine among the commercial exhibits of the fair (October 15, 1890).

Sewing accounted for almost 11% of all categories. Between 1886 and 1892 sewing categories ranged from one to three. From 1901 to 1906 sewing categories increased slightly; 1902 was a peak year with seven first prizes for sewing. From 1908 on sewing categories increased to range from twelve (1908) to seventeen (1914).

Crochet accounted for almost 9% of all categories. Between 1886 and 1891 the number of categories for crochet increased from one in 1886 to five in 1891, with a drop to two categories in 1892. Between 1900 and 1907 there were only four first

Table 4.2: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Calgary agricultural fair, 1886-1915

Year	Bd	Cr	Em	Hf	Kn	K/C	Ln	Lg	Ma	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Ta	We	St	Ns
1886	01	01	06	--	05	--	01	--	--	01	01	--	03	01	--	--	--	--	02
1887	--	02	04	--	05	--	--	--	01	01	--	02	02	01	02	--	--	--	08
1888	--	02	14	--	07	--	02	--	01	--	--	02	03	01	03	--	--	--	06
1889	--	03	08	--	10	--	02	--	--	--	--	03	01	01	02	--	--	--	02
1890	--	04	10	--	07	--	02	--	--	--	--	04	02	01	02	--	--	--	03
1891	--	05	11	--	06	--	02	--	--	--	--	04	03	01	01	--	--	--	02
1892	--	02	07	--	05	--	01	--	--	--	--	02	03	01	01	--	--	--	03
1900	--	02	03	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	05
1901	--	01	10	--	04	--	--	04	--	01	--	--	02	01	05	--	--	--	06
1902	--	--	15	--	03	--	02	02	--	--	--	--	02	--	05	--	--	--	--
1903	--	--	03	--	--	--	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	03	--	--	--	08
1904	02	01	11	--	03	--	06	01	--	01	01	--	02	--	--	01	--	--	06
1906	--	--	05	01	01	--	11	01	--	--	01	--	01	02	02	--	--	--	09
1907	--	--	09	01	03	--	04	02	--	--	01	--	02	02	--	01	--	--	05
1908	--	08	46	--	06	02	05	01	--	01	--	--	03	01	12	--	03	01	07
1909	--	14	38	--	13	05	06	02	--	02	01	03	03	03	13	01	02	--	12
1910	--	14	39	--	14	05	05	02	--	03	01	--	04	03	14	01	03	--	12
1911	--	06	12	--	12	07	04	--	--	02	--	--	04	03	13	--	03	--	08
1912	--	09	44	--	12	06	04	02	--	03	01	--	02	01	13	01	02	--	18
1914	--	12	40	--	11	04	05	01	--	02	01	--	02	01	17	01	--	--	11
1915	--	14	40	--	09	01	05	04	01	04	01	--	02	02	15	01	--	--	11
%	.3	8.7	32.4	0.2	11.9	2.6	5.8	2.2	.3	1.8	.8	1.7	4.2	2.3	10.8	.6	1.1	.1	12.5

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Hf = Homemade flowers
Kn = Knitting

K/C = Knitting/Crochet
Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Ma = Macrame

Me = Mending
Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking

Se = Sewing
Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
St = Straw weaving
Ns = Not Specified

prizes awarded for crochet. From 1908 on, the number of crochet categories in Calgary increased to range from six (1911) to fourteen (1914).

Lace making comprised more than 8% of all categories: almost 6% needle and bobbin laces, and more than 2% general laces. Before 1900 there were no general lace categories. From 1886 to 1892 needle and bobbin lace categories ranged from one to two per year. Between 1901 till 1903 lace making categories increased slightly. From 1904 till 1915 the total number of lace making categories fluctuated between four in 1911 and nine in 1914. 1900 was an exceptional year when there were twelve first prizes awarded for lace making.

A report in *The Calgary Tribune*, July 1893 stated that a young lady, unnamed, was planning to give lace making classes that fall, and that several women were seriously interested in taking up the craft. It also noted that there was a craze in Calgary for the heavier homemade laces such as Teneriffe and Cluny, as well as Irish Crochet. The increased number of lace categories from 1904 on may reflect the influence of the classes referred to in this report.

Quilting accounted for slightly more than 4% of all categories. From 1886 to 1892 categories ranged between one and three. From 1900 to 1907 they ranged between one and two, and from 1908 on they increased slightly to range from two to four.

Rug making comprised more than 2% of all categories at Calgary. One first prize for rug making was awarded every year from 1886 to 1901. No prizes were awarded between 1902 and 1905. From 1906 on, the number of categories ranged from one to three.

Mending accounted for less than 2% in Calgary. Before 1908 first prizes for mending were only occasionally awarded, in 1886, 1887, 1901, and 1904. From 1908 on, mending was featured at every fair, ranging from one category in 1908, to four in 1915.

Painting comprised less than 2% of all categories. It was featured between 1887 and 1892, ranging from two to four categories annually. In 1909 three first prizes were awarded for painting on fabrics.

No prizes were awarded for spinning, although *The Calgary Tribune* in 1889 contributed $10 for the best yarn from Alberta wool manufactured for the exhibition that year (September 19, 1889).

Calgary was also one of the few communities that awarded prizes for weaving for a number of years (1908 to 1912), accounting for slightly more than 1% of all categories. It was featured between 1908 and 1912. The number of first prizes ranged from one (1909) to four (1908). Several exhibits of commercial weavers were described in the Calgary papers. One of them was the Fish Creek Woollen Mill (1893). There were also commercial rag carpet weavers in Calgary as suggested by the ad from W.O. Cossar in *The Edmonton Bulletin* (August 10, 1894).

Netting accounted for slightly less than 1% of all categories. A fist prize was awarded in 1886. From 1904 till 1914 one first prize for netting was awarded regularly.

Tatting comprised about .5% of all categories in Calgary. It was regularly featured from 1904 on.

Macramé was only featured at six fairs. In Calgary it accounted for less than .5% of all categories, being featured only in 1887, 1888 and 1915.

Calgary was one of the seven fairs featuring beadwork. It comprised less than .5% of all categories, being featured only in 1886 and 1905.

Calgary was one of the four communities featuring homemade flowers of cloth or yarn. It accounted for less than .5%, being featured only in 1906 and 1907.

Straw weaving was only featured at three fairs. In Calgary it accounted for only .1% of all categories, because it was featured only in 1908.

There were no laundry, leatherwork or knitted homespun categories in Calgary. Twelve percent or 144 of all categories could not be coded as belonging to any craft.

4.4 Lethbridge

When Nick Sheran, a prospector, started a coal mine in 1872, he named the area Coalbanks. In 1879 E.T. Galt, then assistant to the Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney, noticed the potential of the outcroppings of coal and was able to interest his father, Sir A.T. Galt, and a few rich Englishmen to invest in the formation of a second coal mine, the North-West Coal and Navigation Company. This mine prospered and gradually a town was formed, and several farmers and ranchers settled in the area. The community rose to prominence in the 1880s, when the railroad was built. In 1885 Coalbanks was renamed

Lethbridge after the president and one of the earlier shareholders of the North-West Coal and Navigation Co. Since coal was needed in large quantities as fuel for trains and later for domestic heating, Lethbridge was linked by a narrow gauge railroad to the transcontinental line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, when it was constructed through Alberta. This connection was renovated twice, once in 1890 and later in 1897.

Another source of prosperity was the settlers from the the United States, who came to the area in the late 1880s. These farmers were not only well supplied with cash and farm equipment but were also experienced dryfarmers (MacGregor, 1972, p. 198).

Although Lethbridge was late in forming an agricultural society, it had no trouble in holding an uninterrupted series of annual fairs from 1897 to 1914. There was no fair held in 1915. Despite this gap, 563 categories were tabulated, of which 78% indicated a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.3, embroidery accounted for 27% of all categories at the Lethbridge fairs. From 1897 till 1908 the annual number of categories for embroidery ranged from one (1897) to seven (1908). Between 1909 and 1914 this number increased to range between eleven and sixteen. 1912 was a peak year with 39 categories, contrasting with the next year when there were only five embroidery categories.

Crochet comprised less than 11% of all categories. From 1897 till 1905 there were one to two first prizes per year. From 1906 till 1910 the number of first prizes for crochet increased somewhat. This increase accelerated between 1911 and 1915 when the annual number of categories ranged from five (1912) to sixteen (1915). Four first prizes were awarded in 1912 for categories stating a choice between knitting and crochet.

Sewing accounted for slightly more than 9% of all categories. Between 1897 and 1905 one to three first prizes were awarded in some years, none in others (1901, 1903, 1904). From 1906 till 1915 the annual number of sewing categories fluctuated from two (1915) to six (1909, 1912 and 1913).

Knitting accounted for 8.5% of all categories. Between 1897 and 1904, the annual number of categories decreased from four (1897) to one (1904). Between 1906 and 1911 this number ranged between two and three. In 1912 there were twelve knitting categories, while only four in 1913, and none in 1914. As stated before, in 1912 there

Table 4.3: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Lethbridge fair, 1897-1914

Year	Bd	Cr	Em	Kn	K/C	Ln	Lg	Ly	Ma	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Ta	Ns
1897	01	01	01	04	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	--	01	--	06
1898	01	01	02	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	--	02	--	05
1899	--	02	04	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	03	--	07
1900	01	02	03	02	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	02	--	06
1901	--	02	04	02	--	01	--	01	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	01	07
1902	--	01	05	--	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	01	07
1903	--	02	03	01	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	06
1904	--	02	05	01	--	04	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	--	01	04
1905	--	02	07	02	--	03	01	--	--	01	--	01	02	01	02	01	10
1906	--	03	07	02	--	02	--	01	--	01	--	02	01	01	05	--	12
1907	--	03	05	02	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	02	02	01	05	01	07
1908	--	04	07	02	--	02	--	01	--	01	--	02	02	01	03	01	09
1909	--	03	14	03	--	03	--	--	--	01	--	02	03	01	06	01	12
1910	--	03	11	03	--	03	--	--	--	01	--	--	03	01	04	01	11
1911	--	05	14	02	--	02	01	--	--	01	--	01	03	01	03	--	09
1912	--	08	39	12	04	03	01	--	--	01	01	--	04	03	06	01	--
1913	--	16	05	04	--	04	01	--	01	02	01	--	03	--	06	01	06
1914	01	--	16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	--	--
%	.7	10.7	27.0	8.5	.7	5.7	.7	.7	.2	1.8	.9	1.8	5.7	2.0	9.1	2.0	22.0

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Kn = Knitting
K/C = Knitting/Crochet

Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Ly = Laundry
Ma = Macrame
Me = Mending

Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing

Sp = Spinning
Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
Le = Leatherwork
St = Straw weaving
Ns = Not specified

were four categories which stated a choice between crochet and knitting.

Lace making comprised more than 6% of all categories in Lethbridge, almost 6% needle and bobbin laces and less than 1% general lace making. The annual number of needle and bobbin laces ranged from one in 1901, to four in 1913. There were only four first prizes awarded for lace making in general, one in 1905, and one from 1911 till 1913.

Quilting comprised almost 6% of all categories, ranging from one to two annual first prizes between 1897 and 1908, to three to four first prizes between 1909 and 1913. Rug making accounted for 2% of all categories. No prizes were awarded prior to 1904. From 1904 till 1911 there was only one annual prize for this craft. In 1912 there were three first prizes. Rug making was not featured in 1914 and 1915.

Lethbridge was one of the eight communities featuring mending, accounting for less than 2% of all categories. It was not featured prior to 1905. From 1905 till 1912 there was only one annual first prize, in 1913 there were two.

Painting comprised almost 2% of all categories. One to two first prizes were awarded between 1905 and 1909, and one in 1911.

Netting accounted for slightly less than 1% of all categories. A first prize for this craft was occasionally awarded between 1899 and 1913.

Lethbridge was one of the seven communities featuring beadwork, accounting for less than 1% of all categories. First prizes for this craft were awarded occasionally (1897, 1898, 1900 and 1914).

Lethbridge was one of the three communities (and the only Alberta community) featuring laundry, accounting for less than 1% of all categories. First prizes for this craft were awarded only in 1900, 1901, 1906, and 1908. Macramé was featured only once in Lethbridge (1913).

Hairwork, homemade flowers from fabric or yarn, spinning or knitted homespun, weaving, leather craft, or straw weaving were not featured at the Lethbridge fair. About 22% (or 124) of all textile categories could not be coded as belonging to a specific craft.

4.5 Medicine Hat

Medicine Hat had its beginning when several ranchers settled in the area around 1880. The community became important when the railroad made it a junction for transportation and freight to the north, and coal from Lethbridge to the south. Although ranching was the main agricultural venture before the arrival of the railroad in 1885, incoming settlers diminished the scope of range land. This was especially so after the turn of the century, when homesteaders could fence off their land with barbed wire. In 1912 the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. dug canals in the area, creating irrigation districts for intensive farming.

In 1887 the Agricultural Society of Medicine Hat held its first fair. In 1898 the committee for the ladies' work class extended the prize list, and for the next two years more prize money was awarded for entries in the ladies' work class than for the livestock classes, which is very unusual at a Western Canadian fair (Glenbow-Alberta Archives, BRA, 278). Although a B fair, Medicine Hat had as many textile textile craft categories as each of three of the A fairs in this survey. *The Medicine Hat Times* was the only newspaper in this survey, which commented on the small amounts of money awarded to textile crafts, and suggested twice that the amounts be increased (Oct. 3, 1895; Oct. 15, 1903).

This analysis does not include the years 1888, 1895, 1911, and 1912, because the prizewinners' lists for textile crafts of these years were not published. There was no fair held in 1915. Despite these lacunae, 1054 categories were tabulated in this survey, of which slightly more than 80% indicated a specific textile craft.

As shown on table 4.4, embroidery accounted for more than 31% of all categories. At the first fair there was only one embroidery category. From 1889 on, however, the annual number of categories fluctuated between eight (1903) and fifteen (1897 and 1898). Peak years were 1899, (22 categories), 1907 and 1908 (resp. 20 and 21 categories), 1913 (33 categories), and 1914 (19 categories).

Sewing accounted for more than 11% of all categories. From 1887 till 1897 the annual number for this craft ranged between one and five. Between 1898 and 1906 the annual number increased to range between five and nine. From 1907 till 1915 sewing categories fluctuated between two (1909 and 1910) and eight (1913).

Table 4.4 Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Medicine Hat fair, 1887-1914

Year	Bd	Cr	Em	Kn	Ln	Lg	Ma	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Ta	Le	Ns
1887	--	02	01	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	03	01	01	--	--	03
1889	--	03	09	04	--	--	01	--	--	02	03	01	03	--	--	02
1890	--	02	12	04	02	--	01	--	--	01	03	01	03	--	--	07
1891	--	04	14	04	--	--	--	--	--	01	04	02	04	--	--	06
1892	--	04	12	03	--	--	01	--	--	--	02	02	03	--	--	06
1893	--	03	10	05	01	--	01	--	--	--	03	02	04	01	--	03
1894	--	03	11	04	01	--	01	--	--	01	02	01	05	--	--	06
1896	--	03	10	05	02	01	--	--	--	--	03	01	04	01	--	07
1897	01	05	15	05	02	--	01	--	--	--	03	01	05	01	--	07
1898	01	03	15	05	04	02	--	01	01	--	03	01	09	01	--	15
1899	--	07	22	05	04	02	--	01	01	--	04	01	05	01	--	14
1900	--	03	13	02	02	02	01	01	--	--	03	01	05	01	--	14
1901	--	03	14	05	04	02	--	01	01	--	02	01	07	01	--	15
1902	01	03	12	06	04	02	--	01	01	--	03	--	06	01	--	13
1903	01	03	08	02	04	01	--	01	02	--	03	01	06	01	--	14
1904	01	04	14	03	04	02	--	01	01	--	02	01	08	01	--	16
1905	01	04	14	03	04	02	--	01	02	--	03	01	09	02	01	17
1906	01	03	10	03	03	--	--	--	--	--	02	01	07	--	--	11
1907	--	02	20	04	02	03	--	01	01	--	03	--	03	01	--	08
1908	--	03	21	01	04	03	--	01	01	--	01	--	03	01	--	07
1909	--	01	10	01	01	02	--	01	--	--	--	--	02	--	--	02
1910	--	01	12	--	--	02	--	01	--	--	--	--	02	--	--	03
1913	--	06	33	09	02	03	--	01	--	--	04	--	08	01	--	05
1914	--	06	19	07	01	03	--	01	01	--	02	--	06	--	--	06
%	.7	7.7	31.4	8.7	4.8	3.0	.7	1.3	1.1	.5	5.8	1.9	11.2	1.4	.1	19.6

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Kn = Knitting
Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Ma = Macrame
Me = Mending
Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing
Ta = Tatting
Le = Leatherwork
Ns = Not specified

Knitting comprised less than 9% of all categories. From 1887 till 1909, the annual number of categories ranged between two and five. 1912 was a peak year with six categories. In 1908 and 1909 there was only one knitting category on the winners' lists, and none in 1910. In 1913 and 1914 there were respectively nine and seven knitting categories. *The Medicine Hat News* described an exhibit of a Mrs. T.W. Snowdon in 1894, commenting that the hosiery, petticoats and socks were good advertising for her business (October 11, 1894). This suggests knitting as a commercial enterprise.

Lace making accounted for almost 8% of all categories, almost 5% for needle and bobbin lace and 3% for general lace categories. General lace making categories were featured from 1896 on, fluctuating between one (1896) and three (1914). Needle and bobbin lace categories were featured regularly from 1890 on, ranging from one to four per year.

Crochet comprised less than 8% of all categories. The annual number of categories ranged generally from two (1897) to four. Peak years were 1899 (seven first prizes), 1913, and 1914 (six first prizes). This contrasts with 1909 and 1910 when there was only one first prize awarded for crochet.

Quilting comprised almost 6% of all categories. There were three to four quilt categories annually before 1900, and two to three after 1900. An exception is 1913 when there were four quilt categories.

Rug making accounted for almost 2% of all categories. From 1887 till 1906 there were usually one or two first prizes. From 1907 on, there were no rug making categories featured on the winners' lists.

Tatting accounted for almost 1.5% of all categories. Between 1893 and 1913 there was usually one first prize awarded for this craft.

Medicine Hat was one of the eight communities which featured mending, comprising less than 1.5% of all categories. From 1898 on, a first prize was awarded at almost every fair held till 1915.

Netting accounted for slightly more than 1% of all categories. One or two first prizes were awarded every year between 1898 and 1908, and in 1914.

Medicine Hat was one of the seven communities to feature beadwork. This craft accounted for less than 1% of all categories. Beadwork was featured in 1887, 1889, and from 1902 till 1906.

Medicine Hat was one of the six communities featuring macramé, which accounted for less than 1% of all categories. A first prize for this craft was awarded regularly between 1889 and 1900. Painting accounted for .5% of all categories, being featured only between 1889 and 1894.

The Medicine Hat agricultural fairs featured leatherwork only once (1905), but did not feature hairwork, homemade flowers of cloth or yarn, spinning, or knitted homespun, weaving, laundry or straw weaving. About 20% (or 207) of all categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

4.6 Red Deer

Red Deer had its origin in a handful of settlers at the crossing of the Red Deer River on the Edmonton-Calgary trail. It began to grow in 1890 when the railroad branch line from Calgary to Edmonton was built. Groups of settlers took advantage of the transportation opportunities, and the town steadily grew from 323 people in 1901 to more than 2,100 residents in 1915.

Red Deer held its first agricultural fair in 1892, but a local newspaper was lacking for the next twelve years. Prizewinners' lists of the Red Deer fair were published only if the secretary of the society wrote out the long list and sent it to the editor of an out-of-town paper covering Red Deer, and if the editor saw fit to print the list. This happened only in 1892 and 1894, when the list was published in *The Calgary Herald*. In 1904 Red Deer acquired its own newspaper, which faithfully reported the prizewinners each year since.

Examination of the newspaper reports on the Red Deer fair revealed that no fairs were held in 1910 and 1911. Despite these lacunae 451 categories were tabulated. Slightly more than 60% (or 272) of these categories indicated a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.5, embroidery comprised less than 22% off all categories. There was one first prize for it in 1892 and three in 1894. Between 1904 and 1906 there were five embroidery categories on the winners' lists. From 1907 on, the annual number of embroidery categories increased to range from nine (1909) to thirteen (1913).

Table 4.5: Prizewinning categories for textile crafts at the Red Deer Fair, 1892-1915

Year	Cr	Em	Kn	K/C	Ln	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Sp	Ta	We	Ns
1892	01	01	01	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	02
1894	01	03	04	--	--	--	01	02	--	--	01	--		03
1904	--	05	02	01	01	--	--	02	02	--	01	--	--	07
1905	01	05	07	02	01	--	--	--	02	--	01	--	--	12
1906	03	05	03	01	01	-	--	02	01	--	01	--	--	09
1907	02	11	01	02	03	01	--	--	01	02	-	01	--	20
1908	02	10	04	02	03	01	--	03	03	02	-	01	--	17
1909	01	09	02	02	03	01	--	02	01	--	01	--	--	12
1912	02	12	04	03	02	01	--	02	03	--	01	01	--	21
1913	04	13	06	02	04	01	--	02	03	--	01	01	01	22
1914	03	12	04	--	03	01	--	02	02	--	01	01	--	29
1915	04	12	06	--	02	01	--	02	01	01	--	01	--	22
%	5.3	21.7	9.8	3.3	5.1	1.6	.2	4.4	4.4	1.1	1.8	1.3	.2	39.7

Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Kn = Knitting
K/C= Knitting/Crochet

Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Rugmaking

Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing
Sp = Spinning

Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
Ns = Not specified

Knitting comprised about 10% of all categories. One first prize was awarded in 1892, and four in 1894. From 1904 till 1915 the number of knitting categories fluctuated between one (1907) and seven (1905).

Crochet accounted for more than 5% of all categories. Only one first prize was awarded in 1892 and 1894. From 1905 on the annual number of categories for this craft ranged from one (1905) to four (1913 and 1914). From 1904 till 1913 one to three first prizes were awarded annually for categories stating a choice between knitting and crochet. This type of categories accounted for 3.3% of all categories.

Needle and bobbin lace accounted for slightly more than 5% of all categories. From 1904 till 1906 only one first prize was awarded for lace making each year. From 1907 on, the annual number of categories for this craft ranged from two in 1912 and 1915, to four in 1913. No general lace making categories were tabulated for Red Deer.

Quilting accounted for almost 4.5% of all categories. One or two first prizes for quilting were awarded every year, with the exception of 1908 when three first prizes were awarded.

Rug making accounted for almost 4.5% of all categories. Before 1908 only one or two first prizes were awarded annually for this craft. From 1908 on, the number of categories increased slightly to range from one to three.

Red Deer was one of the five communties featuring spinning, which accounted for almost 2% of all categories. One first prize for spinning was awarded regularly from 1894 to 1914.

Netting comprised slightly more than 1.5% of all categories. There were no netting categories before 1907. From 1907 on, one first prize was awarded annually for netting.

Tatting accounted for 1.5% of all categories. One first prize was awarded regularly from 1907 to 1915.

Sewing comprised only slightly more than 1% of all categories. Two first prizes were awarded, one in 1907 and one in 1915.

Weaving and painting on fabric comprised each .2% of all categories. One first prize was awarded for painting in 1894, and one for weaving in 1914.

Beadwork, hairwork, home made flowers of fabric and yarn, macramé, mending, laundry, leatherwork, straw weaving or knitted homespun were not featured at the Red

Weaving accounted for less than .5% of all categories in Edmonton. It was featured only in 1886, 1894 and 1914.

Edmonton was one of the two communities that featured hairwork. This craft accounted for less than .5% of all categories in Edmonton. First prizes for hairwork were awarded only in 1882, 1893, and 1894.

Homemade flowers were featured only in four communities. It comprised less than .5% of all categories in Edmonton. First prizes for home made flowers of cloth or yarn were awarded only in 1879, 1892 and 1915.

Leatherwork accounted for less than 2.5% of all categories in Edmonton. It was featured in 1882, from 1888 till 1894, in 1904, 1907, and 1914.

Laundry work, macramé and straw weaving were not featured in Edmonton. More than 14% (or 146) of all 1011 categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

4.3 Calgary

Calgary had a modest but diverse beginning. Several missionaries, traders and ranchers already lived in the area when the North West Mounted Police built a fort there in 1875. When the first train arrived in 1882, Calgary was a newly proclaimed town with about 100 residents, even though it was little more than "a row of tents on the bank of the Elbow", according to T.B. Bradon, editor of *The Calgary Herald* (MacGregor, 1972, p. 136). The railroad made Calgary prosperous, and six years later it had 3,900 residents (Ibid., p. 148).

The agricultural society, formed in 1884, organized annual fairs from 1886 to 1895. In 1889 it purchased its own fair grounds. However the mortgage on the newly bought grounds was foreclosed a few years later, and the association was unable to organize a fair from 1895 to 1900 (Calgary Industrial Exhibition Association, 1921, Glenbow-Alberta Archives, Bk.C151b, f35). The Society was reorganized in 1900, and started another long series of fairs the next year. The highlights were the 1908 Dominion Fair and the 1912 Stampede.

Calgary continued to grow, keeping pace with Edmonton, or sometimes outpacing it. In 1903 it was considered the principal business town of the North West Territories (Press Publishing Co., 1903, p. 51). The discovery of oil at Turner Valley in 1914

Deer fair. About 40% or 179 of all categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

4.7 Regina

The site on which Regina was built, was an old buffalo hunting camp, called Pile of Bones. It had few inducements for the prospective settler. In contrast to the nearby Qu'appelle valley, this site had poor soil, no tree cover, and only a small creek (Hill, 1973, pp. 173-174). However, since it was decided that a major railway stop would be constructed there, a few settlers tried their luck. When the first train arrived in the summer of 1882, the place was renamed Regina, in honor of Queen Victoria. A year later it became a town, and the new capital of the North West Territories.

Farmers and townspeople formed an agricultural society in 1884, and held a fair the same year. This was the first of an uninterrupted series of annual fairs till 1895. McEwan states that at the early fairs at Regina the generous prize money awarded to seed grain was often higher than that for livestock (1950, p. 81).

The fair in 1895 was one of the biggest events in Regina. This was the Territorial fair, designed to show off the Territories and to attract future settlers (Auld, 1962). The prize money was generous: $ 19,000 (MacEwan, 1980, p. 64; Auld, 1962), the prize list was long (more than 1300 categories), and exhibits and contributions were invited from all over the Territories (Drake, 1955). The prizewinners' list shows that the people of the Territories responded enthusiastically. Some communities cancelled their own annual fair in order to participate. Among them was Battleford (Saskatchewan Archives Board, 260, II). The fair was a huge success, educationally at least, but not financially (Auld, 1962; MacEwan, 1950, p. 80). It took Regina several years to hold another fair again.

In 1898 the agricultural society reorganized itself and was able again to hold annual fairs from 1899 to 1908. During these years the fair expanded and the judges complained that there was too much work for them and that more judges were needed at the Regina fair (Tulley Elder, Saskatchewan Archives Board, 260, I, 179). In 1908 there was another reorganization, this time to be in a better position to secure the Dominion Exhibition, which was held in 1911 (MacEwan, 1950, p. 81).

Meanwhile Regina expanded and became a city in 1903. Massive immigration after the turn of the century encouraged a real estate boom that was hardly affected by the tornado which struck Regina in 1912. The damage was seen as an opportunity to rebuild (Archer, 1983, p. 162). From 1910 to 1915 the Exhibition Association continued its annual fairs. The fair of 1915 had the largest number of textile craft categories (93). This exceeded the number of categories at the Territorial Fair in 1895 (78) and the Dominion Fair in 1911 (89).

Examination of newpaper records reveal that the list of prizewinners was not published in 1909. Despite this gap, 1190 categories were tabulated. Of these, 1062, or 90% indicated a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.6, embroidery was probably the most popular craft in Regina: about 34% of all categories were embroideries. From 1884 till 1891 categories ranged from four to six. Between 1892 and 1895 the number of embroidery categories fluctuated from 17 categories (1892) to 24 (1893) and seven (1894). In 1895, the year of the Territorial Fair, there were 32 embroidery categories. From 1899 to 1910 embroidery fluctuated less, ranging from fourteen in 1901 to three in 1903. From 1911 till 1915 the number of categories increased ranging from 29 to 40.

Knitting comprised almost 15.5% of all categories in Regina. From 1884 to 1895 knitting ranged from six to eleven categories annually. In 1895, the year of the Territorial Fair, there were only five knitting categories. Between 1899 and 1910 the number of categories decreased, ranging from none (1902) to seven (1904). From 1911 to 1914 the number of knitting categories increased to range between seven and nine.

Crochet accounted for more than 9% in all Regina categories. Before 1892 usually one or two crochet first prizes were awarded each year. In 1893 and 1895 there were respectively seven and eight first prizes, while there were none in 1894. From 1899 to 1910 crochet categories ranged between one and five. The number of categories increased from 1911 on, ranging from seven to ten.

From 1911 till 1915 one to three first prizes were awarded for categories stating a choice between knitting and crochet. These categories account for slightly less than 1% of the total number of categories collected from the Regina fair.

Sewing comprised less than 7% of all Regina categories. Between 1884 and 1890 two first prizes were awarded for sewing annually. From 1891 to 1894 the annual number of categories fluctuated between three and four. At the Territorial Fair in 1895

Table 4.6: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Regina agricultural fair, 1884-1915

Year	Be	Cr	Em	Hw	Hf	Kn	K/C	Ln	Lg	Ly	Ma	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Ta	We	Le	St	Ns
1884	01	02	04	--	--	08	--	--	--	--	01	02	--	01	03	02	02	01	01	--	--	02
1885	01	02	06	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	02	03	02	02	01	01	--	--	01
1886	--	03	06	--	--	09	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	02	02	--	01	--	--	02
1887	--	02	04	--	--	08	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	02	02	--	--	--	--	01
1888	--	02	05	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	01	02	03	--	--	--	--	03
1889	--	02	05	--	01	07	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	02	01	02	--	01	--	--	--
1890	--	02	05	--	--	11	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	03	02	02	--	01	--	--	01
1891	01	02	05	--	01	10	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	03	02	04	--	01	--	01	06
1892	--	03	17	--	--	08	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	04	02	03	02	--	--	--	05
1893	--	07	24	--	--	08	--	01	01	--	01	01	--	--	04	01	03	--	--	--	--	01
1894	--	--	07	--	--	06	--	01	02	--	01	--	--	--	02	03	03	01	--	01	--	04
1895	--	08	32	01	--	05	--	01	02	--	02	03	01	02	04	02	06	01	--	--	--	08
1899	--	01	11	01	--	04	--	01	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	02	02	01	--	--	--	09
1900	--	04	10	--	--	04	--	03	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	03	01	--	--	--	--	07
1901	--	03	14	--	--	01	--	04	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	02	--	01	--	--	--	14
1902	--	04	08	--	--	--	--	04	--	--	--	--	02	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	04
1903	--	02	03	--	--	01	--	05	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	01	--	--	--	--	--	01
1904	02	05	11	--	--	07	--	02	--	--	--	--	02	--	03	02	06	--	--	--	--	12
1905	--	03	09	--	--	05	--	03	01	--	--	--	--	--	01	01		--	--	--	--	05
1906	--	04	06	--	--	05	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	07
1907	--	02	07	--	--	06	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	--	01	--	05
1908	--	04	13	--	--	04	--	03	--	01	--	02	02	--	03	02	03	--	--	--	--	01
1910	--	01	12	--	--	05	--	02	--	01	--	01	--	--	03	01	03	01	--	--	--	04
1911	01	08	39	--	--	08	03	05	05	--	--	01	01	--	03	01	09	--	--	01	--	04
1912	--	08	34	--	--	07	01	05	03	--	--	01	01	--	03	--	04	--	--	--	--	08
1913	01	10	40	--	--	08	02	06	05	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	03	--	--	01	--	02
1914	--	07	31	--	--	09	02	06	05	--	--	02	01	--	03	--	01	--	05	--	--	--
1915	--	10	39	--	-	09	03	06	04	--	--	02	01	--	03	--	11	--	05	--	--	01
%	.6	9.3	34.2	.2	.2	15.4	.9	5.0	2.3	.2	.9	1.4	1.3	.8	5.0	3.2	6.8	.8	1.3	.3	.1	9.9

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Hw = Hairwork
Hf = Homemade flowers
Kh = Knitting homespun

K/C= Knitting/Crochet
Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Ly = Laundry
Ma = Macrame
Me = Mending

Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing

Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
Le = Leatherwork
St = Straw weaving
Ns = Not specified

there were six categories. From 1899 to 1906 there were few sewing categories: two in 1899, one in 1900 and 1906, and none in the other years, with the exception of 1904 when there were six. From 1908 on, sewing categories fluctuated between one (1914) and eleven (1915).

Lace making accounts for more than 7% of all categories in Regina. This includes 5% of needle an bobbin lace categories and more than 2% of general lace categories. Only one first prize was awarded for needle and bobbin lace from 1893 till 1895, while for lace making in general one or two first prizes were awarded. Between 1899 and 1910 the number of needle and bobbin lace categories ranged between one (in 1899 and 1906) and five (1903). Prizes for general lace were awarded in 1901 and 1905. From 1911 till 1915 the range of lace making categories increased to five to six for needle and bobbin lace, and three to five for general lace (or eight to eleven lace categories per year combined).

Quilting comprised 5% of all categories. From 1884 to 1895 the annual number of categories ranged between one and four. Between 1901 and 1907 the annual number of categories decreased slightly to range between one and three. From 1908 to 1915 three first prizes were awarded at almost every fair held.

Rug making accounted for more than 3% of all categories. From 1884 to 1895 one to three first prizes were awarded for it. Between 1899 and 1911 there were some years when rug making was not featured and from 1912 on, there were no first prizes awarded in Regina for rug making.

Mending accounted for less than 1.5% of all categories. Before 1908 mending categories were featured occasionally. From 1908 on mending was featured almost every year.

Netting accounted for more than 1% of all categories. In Regina netting was featured for the first time at the Territorial Fair, in 1895. From 1899 till 1902, and from 1911 till 1915, there was only one netting category every year. Between 1903 and 1910 a first prize for netting was awarded only occasionally.

Regina was one of the six communities featuring weaving, comprising little more than 1% of all categories. One first prize was awarded from 1884 till 1891, but not every year. In 1914 and 1915 five weaving categories were featured both years.

Macramé accounted for slightly less than 1% of all categories. Before 1895 there was a first prize for macramé almost every year. In 1895, at the Territorial Fair, there were two first prizes for macramé. From 1895 on, macramé was no longer featured.

Painting on fabrics accounted for less than 1% of all categories. One or two categories in this craft were featured before 1891. Two first prizes for painting on fabric were awarded at the Territorial fair.

Tatting comprised less than 1% of all categories. A first prize for this craft was occasionally awarded between 1884 and 1910. Beadwork accounted for little more than .5% of all categories, being occasionally featured between 1884 and 1913.

Leatherwork was featured in only six communities, comprising less than .5% of all categories. First prizes for leatherwork were awarded occasionally between 1894 and 1913. Regina was one of the three communities featuring straw weaving, accounting for .1% of all categories. It was featured only in 1891.

Hairwork was featured only in two communities. In Regina it accounted for .2% of all categories. A first prize for hairwork was awarded in 1895 and 1899.

Regina was one of the three communities to feature laundry, which comprises .2% of all categories. A first prize for laundry was awarded in 1908 and 1910 only.

Regina featured almost all textile crafts in this survey, except for spinning. Only slightly less than 10% (or 118) of all categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

Regina is also the only fair which featured a special class for Indians. From 1885 to 1895 competition in domestic manufactures, including textile crafts, agricultural products, and livestock were invited from Indians living in the surrounding areas, and from Edmonton, Fort Pelly, Crooked Lakes, Birtle, Touchwood, and the Assiniboine Reserves. This class was resumed in 1904, when the category Indian Curios was added.

4.8 Saskatoon

Saskatoon was started when a core of 53 members of the Temperance Colonization Society arrived during the summers of 1882 and 1883. The site was beautiful, the soil good and the nearest railway was 150 miles away. The Temperance Colony Pioneer Society functioned from 1884 to 1886 as an agricultural society. It was also involved with the start of a school, a ferry system over the North Saskatchewan

River, a co-op store, and a grist mill (MacEwan, 1950, p. 114). In 1886 the agricultural society was formed, which held a fair the same year, at the site of the present University (MacEwan, 1950, p. 115).

Until the coming of the railroad in 1889, the settlers had a rough time, but once connected with several railroads, Saskatoon quickly became "Hub City" (Archer, 1983, p. 125). In 1907 Saskatoon became the home of the University of Saskatchewan. By that time the fair had moved to the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. roundhouse, where it was held for a few years before being relocated to a city park (MacEwan, 1950, p. 118). In 1907 the association bought its own grounds and expanded them in 1911 (MacEwan, 1950, p. 119), a development which was parallel with the general expansion in Saskatoon during the boom years of 1908-1914.

Examination of newspaper records reveal the prizewinners' lists were not published in 1897, 1898, 1900 and 1901. The winners' list of 1909 and 1913 are not included in this survey because the pages of the newspaper containing the 1909 list, and the issue with the 1913 list were missing from the the collection which was microfilmed. Despite these gaps 860 categories were tabulated. Slightly more than 73% of the categories could be coded as representative of a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.7, embroidery accounted for 25% of all categories. From 1887 till 1892, and between 1899 and 1907, the annual number of categories ranged from one to two, with exception of 1906, when there were four categories. From 1908 on, the annual number of categories increased from fourteen (1908) to seventeen (1910), to range in the 30s between 1912 and 1914, and reach 51 in 1915.

Knitting comprised 11% of all categories. In 1886 and 1887 there were only two first prizes for knitting. Between 1888 and 1904 the annual number of knitting categories increased from four (1892) to eight (1903 and 1904). From 1905 on, the annual number of categories fluctuated between one and nine. In 1910 and 1915 respectively one and five first prizes were awarded for categories stating a choice between knitting and crochet.

Sewing comprised almost 9.5% of all categories. There were usually three to five sewing categories each year before 1900. After the turn of the century the annual number of sewing categories fluctuated between three (1905, 1906) and nine (1911). There were

Table 4.7: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Saskatoon agricultural fair, 1886-1915

Year	Bd	Cr	Em	Kn	K/C	Ln	lg	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Sp	Ta	We	Le	St	Ns
1886	--	--	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	02
1887	--	01	02	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	02	01	--	06
1888	--	01	02	07	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	02	03	--	--	--	--	--	13
1889	--	03	02	05	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	01	05	01	--	--	01	01	09
1890	--	01	01	05	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	02	03	01	--	--	--	01	09
1892	--	01	02	04	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	03	01	--	--	--	01	10
1894	--	01	--	05	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	01	--	--	--	--	01	09
1896	--	01	--	06	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02	--	--	--	--	01	05
1899	--	01	01	06	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	02	03	--	01	--	--	--	08
1902	--	01	01	05	--	01	--	01	--	--	03	01	05	--	01	--	--	01	10
1903	--	02	02	08	--	02	--	01	--	--	02	02	08	--	--	--	--	--	14
1904	--	01	02	08	--	--	--	01	--	--	02	02	08	--	--	--	--	--	16
1905	--	01	02	03	--	02	--	02	--	01	02	01	03	--	--	--	--	--	13
1906	--	01	04	02	--	03	--	--	--	--	02	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	10
1907	--	01	02	01	--	02	02	--	--	--	02	01	05	--	--	--	--	--	12
1908	01	01	14	05	--	03	03	01	--	--	02	02	07	--	--	--	--	--	15
1910	01	03	17	03	01	03	04	01	--	--	03	01	07	--	--	--	01	--	12
1911	--	10	39	09	04	04	05	01	01	01	03	01	09	--	--	01	--	--	08
1912	--	04	36	01	--	09	05	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	02	01	--	--	16
1914	--	07	34	01	--	04	02	--	03	05	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	20
1915	--	16	51	07	--	07	04	02	02	04	02	--	06	--	--	--	--	--	11
%	.2	6.7	25.0	11.0	.6	4.7	3.0	1.3	1.0	1.3	3.8	2.7	9.4	.3	.6	.6	.5	.7	26.5

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Kn = Knitting
K/C= Knitt'g/Crochet

Ln = Needle/bobbinlace
Lg = Lace,general
Me = Mending
Ne = Netting

Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing
Sp = Spinning

Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
Le = Leatherwork,
St = Straw weaving
Ns = Not specified

no prizes in 1912 and 1914, but six first prizes in 1915.

Lace making comprised less than 8% of all categories: 3% for lace making in general and less than 5% for needle and bobbin lace. Between 1886 and 1902 there was only one first prize for lace making in general, and none for needle and bobbin lace making. From 1902 till 1906 there were one to three needle and bobbin lace categories per year. From 1907 till 1915 needle and bobbin lace categories increased to range from two to seven per year, while general lace making ranged from two to five.

Crochet comprised less than 7% of all categories. There were one to three crochet categories each year till 1911. From 1911 on, the number of categories fluctuated between four (1912) and sixteen (1915).

Quilting accounted for almost 4% of all categories. From 1886 till 1899 one first prize was awarded annually for this craft, except in 1888, when two prizes were awarded. Between 1902 and 1915 the annual number of first prizes increased slightly to two or three. No prizes for quilting were awarded in 1912 and 1914.

Rug making accounted for almost 3% of all categories. Between 1886 and 1911 one to two first prizes were awarded annually for this craft.

Saskatoon was one of the eight communities featuring mending. This comprised slightly more than 1% of all categories. There was one first prize awarded in 1890. Between 1902 and 1915, one or two first prizes were awarded in some years, but none in others (1906, 1907, 1912, and 1914).

Painting comprised less than 1.5% of all categories. One first prize was awarded for this craft in 1905 and 1911, but in 1914 and 1915 there were respectively five and four first prizes awarded.

Netting accounted for 1% of all categories. A first prize was awarded in 1899, and 1911. Between 1912 and 1915 the annual number of categories ranged from two to three.

Saskatoon was one of the three communities to feature straw weaving, accounting for .7% of all categories. First prizes were awarded between 1889 and 1896, and in 1902.

Saskatoon was one of the six communities to feature weaving, accounting for little more than .5% of all categories. There were two first prizes awarded for this craft in

1887, and one first prize in 1911, 1912, and 1914.

Tatting comprised little more than .5% of all categories. First prizes for this craft were awarded in 1900, 1912 (two categories), and 1914.

Saskatoon was one of the six communities featuring leatherwork, comprising .5% of all categories. One first prize was awarded each year from 1886 till 1889, and in 1910.

Spinning was featured at only five communities, including Saskatoon, where it comprised less than .5% of all categories. One first prize was awarded annually between 1889 and 1892 only.

Saskatoon was one of the seven communities featuring beadwork, which accounted for less than .5% of all categories. A first prize for this craft was awarded in 1908 and in 1910.

Hairwork, homemade flowers of fabric or yarn, macramé, laundry and knitted homespun were not featured in Saskatoon. More than one quarter (or 228) of all categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

4.9 Prince Albert

Prince Albert was founded in 1866 as a Presbyterian mission by Reverend James Nisbett. The purpose of the mission was to introduce the Metis of the area to education and agriculture (Archer, 1983, p. 43). Other farmers were attracted to the site as well: in 1871 Prince Albert had 300 residents (Archer 183, p. 66), and by 1874 the number had swollen to 831 (Campbell, 1965, p. 165). It was the largest agricultural settlement of the North West Territories, when the Marquis of Lorne, then Governor General of Canada, visited Prince Albert in 1881 (Archer, 1983, p. 71). This visit was the occasion of an informal agricultural fair (Frith, 1983, p. 7). A year later an agricultural society was formed, more to be in a better position to apply for free seed grain from the Government, than to hold fairs (Frith, 1983, p. 22). However, the first fair was held the same year the society was formed.

Examination of newspaper reports on the fair reveal that no fairs were held in 1891, 1894, 1895 and 1897. From 1909 to 1915 there are no microfilms of local newspapers available in the Saskatchewan Archives Board. Newspapers in other communities, such as Saskatoon, did not publish the Prince Albert prizewinners' lists during these years. Thus, the analysis is based on data till 1907 only. The years 1892, 1905, and 1908 are not included because the issues in which the prizewinner's lists were published were not microfilmed, or the pages containing the list were blurred. Despite these lacunae 455 categories were tabulated, of which 319 (70%) indicated a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.8, knitting comprised about 20.5% of all categories. This included knitted homespun (5%) as well as knitting (16%). From 1884 till 1890 the annual number of knitting categories ranged between three (1884 and 1887) and six (1886). Between 1893 and 1907, the annual number of categories fluctuated from none (1903) or one (1900 and 1904) to eight (1896).

Sewing accounted for slightly more than 10% of all categories. Between 1886 and 1891 the annual number of sewing categories fluctuated between two (1886, 1890) and four (1887). 1893 was a peak year when seven first prizes were awarded. From 1896 till 1907 the annual number of categories decreased, from five (1896) to none (1904).

Embroidery accounted for almost 9% of all categories. From 1895 till 1903 there were one or two embroidery categories at almost every fair. From 1904 till 1907 the annual number of categories fluctuated from three (1906) to twelve (1907).

Spinning comprised 4% of all categories, knitted homespun another 5%. Thus 9% of all categories in Prince Albert represent home spinning. Between 1884 and 1889 the annual number of categories ranged from one to three. Homespun knitting ranged from one prize (1885) to four (1887). Between 1893 and 1898 there were still one to three annual first prizes awarded for spinning, but only three first prizes for knitting homespun yarn in 1893. From 1891 on, knitted homespun was featured occasionally, as in 1903 (three first prizes) and in 1907, but there were no longer specific spinning categories.

Crochet comprised almost 6.5% of all categories. Before 1898 one or two first prizes were awarded at each fair. From 1898 till 1903 the annual number of categories increased to two or three. In 1904 and 1906 one first prize was awarded, but four in 1907.

Quilting accounted for more than 5% of all categories. Until 1900 one or two first prizes were awarded regularly for this craft, but from 1901 on, the annual number of first

Table 4.8: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Prince Albert fair, 1884-1907

Year	Bd	Cr	Em	Kn	Kh	Ln	Lg	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Sp	Ta	Le	Ns
1884	--	01	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	--	03	--
1885	01	01	01	04	01	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	03	--	--	02
1886	01	01	01	06	02	--	--	--	--	--	01	02	02	03	--	--	06
1887	01	--	01	03	04	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	04	02	--	--	06
1888	--	01	02	05	04	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	02	01	--	--	11
1889	01	01	01	05	04	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	03	02	--	--	14
1890	01	01	01	05	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02	--	--	--	11
1893	01	02	02	07	03	--	--	01	--	--	01	02	07	01	--	04	05
1896	01	01	01	08	--	--	--	01	--	--	03	01	05	03	--	--	12
1898	--	02	01	03	--	01	02	--	--	--	01	04	03	01	--	--	04
1899	--	02	02	04	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	01	03	--	--	--	05
1900	--	03	02	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	04	--	--	04	09
1901	--	02	01	04	--	01	--	01	--	--	04	01	02	--	01	02	12
1902	01	02	01	04	--	--	--	01	01	--	03	--	03	--	01	02	13
1903	--	02	01	--	03	--	--	01	01	--	04	01	01	--	--	--	11
1904	--	01	07	01	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--
1906	--	01	03	03	--	01	--	--	01	02	--	--	02	--	--	--	05
1907	--	04	12	06	01	--	01	01	01	--	03	02	03	--	--	05	10
%	1.8	6.4	8.8	15.8	4.8	.9	.7	1.5	.9	.4	5.5	3.7	10.1	4.0	.4	4.4	29.9

Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Kn = Knitting
Kh = Knitting Homespun

Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Me = Mendingeneral
Ne = Netting

Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing

Sp = Spinning
Ta = Tatting
Le = Leatherwork
Ns = Not specified

prizes increased to three or four. No first prizes were awarded in 1904 and 1906.

Rug making comprised less than 4% of all categories. One or two first prizes were awarded at most fairs from 1886 on, but not in 1898, 1902, and 1906.

Prince Albert was one of the seven communities to feature bead work, accounting for almost 2% of all categories. One first prize was awarded regularly between 1889 and 1891, and one first prize was awarded in 1902.

Lace making accounted for less than 2% of all categories. This percentage includes needle and bobbin lace categories (1%) and general lace categories (almost 1%). No lace making was featured before 1898. In that year two prizes were awarded for general lace making and one for needle lace. A first prize for needle and bobbin lace was awarded in 1901, 1904, and 1906 (two prizes), and a general lace making prize in 1907.

Prince Albert was one of the eight communities featuring mending, comprising 1.5% of all categories. There were no mending categories before 1893. From 1893 till 1907 one first prize was awarded regularly, but not every year.

Netting comprised almost 1% of all categories. One first prize for netting was awarded every year from 1902 till 1907, except in 1904.

Tatting comprised almost .5% of all categories. Only in 1901 and 1902 was a first prize for tatting awarded in Prince Albert.

Leatherwork accounted for almost 4.5% of all categories. There were three first prizes in 1884, and four in 1893. Between 1900 and 1902 two to four first prizes, and in 1907 five first prizes were awarded for leatherwork.

Hairwork, home made flowers with yarn or fabric, macrame, weaving, or straw weaving were not featured in the Prince Albert fair. Almost 30% (or 136) of all categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

4.10 The Battlefords

Battleford was formed at the conjunction of the telegraph line and the overland trail from Fort Ellis to Edmonton. The telegraph linemen called the site Telegraph Flats, but in 1876 it was renamed when the North West Mounted Police built Fort Battleford a little above the flats (Hill, 1973, pp. 171-172). Farmers and ranchers settled in the area and prospered. In 1877 it was chosen as the seat of the Government of the North West

Territories. Growth was somewhat slow, and Battleford was disappointed when it was not linked with the railroad in 1882. The same year it had to relinquish the honor of being the capital city in favor of the newly created Regina.

The first fair was held in 1884. The agricultural society in Battleford could not hold a fair every year, nor is there a microfilmed record of all the published prizewinners' lists.

In 1905 the Canadian Northern Railway was built along the northern bank of the North Saskatchewan River, and bypassed Battleford. That year a new town, North Battleford sprang up, which grew rapidly, while Battleford languished. In 1906 North Battleford formed its own agricultural society, which held fairs annually at least till 1915 while the society in Battleford became dormant after 1910.

Examination of newspaper reports on the fair revealed that no fairs were held in 1893, 1896, 1898, 1899, and 1907. The analysis also excluded 1910 and 1912 because the newspaper issue containing the prizewinners' list was not microfilmed. Despite these lacunae 391 categories were tabulated, of which 295 or (75%) indicated a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.9, embroidery accounted for 23% of all categories. From 1887 till the turn of the century the annual number of categories decreased from five (1887) to one (1901). Between 1902 and 1908 the annual number of categories fluctuated between two and six. From 1909 till 1915 there were ten to twelve first prizes annually, with the exception of 1911, when there were only two.

Knitting comprised more than 14% of all categories. Three first prizes were awarded at almost every fair from 1887 till 1901. From 1902 on, the annual number of categories fluctuated from none (1908) to six (1913).

Crochet accounted for almost 9.5% of all categories. Prior to 1909, one first prize was awarded annually, with the exception of 1888, when two first prizes were awarded, and 1904, when there were four. From 1909 till 1915, the annual number of categories fluctuated between two (1911) and eight (1913). Two first prizes were awarded for a category stating a choice between knitting or crochet, one in 1909 and the other in 1911.

Sewing comprised more than 8% of all categories. Between 1889 and 1902 one annual first prize was awarded, but none in 1903. From 1904 till 1915 the annual number

Table 4.9: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at the Battlefords fairs. 1887-1915

Year	Cr	Em	Hf	Kn	K/C	Ln	Lg	Ly	Ma	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Ta	Le	Ns
1887	01	05	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	02
1888	02	05	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	--	01	--	01
1889	01	03	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	01
1890	01	03	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	02
1891	01	03	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	01	--	--
1892	01	01	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01
1894	01	02	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01
1897	01	02	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	01
1900	01	02	--	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	01
1901	01	01	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	01
1902	01	02	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	01
1903	04	06	--	04	--	01	01	--	--	--	01	--	01	03	--	--	--	05
1904	01	02	--	02	--	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	02	--	--	02
1905	01	06	--	02	--	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	02	--	--	03
1906	01	02	--	03	--	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	01	01	--	03
1908	01	06	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	--	02	01	--	07
1909	03	15	--	03	01	01	--	01	01	--	01	01	02	01	03	--	--	09
1911	02	02	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	02	02	--	--	11
1913	09	12	01	06	--	04	--	--	--	02	01	02	03	01	06	01	--	24
1915	03	10	01	03	--	03	--	--	--	02	01	02	02	01	05	01	--	20
%	9.4	23.0	.5	14.3	.5	3.3	.3	.3	2.3	1.0	2.3	1.3	5.1	2.0	8.2	1.5	.3	24.5

Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Hf = Homemade flowers
Kn = Knitting
Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace

Lg = Lace, general
Ly = Laundry
Ma = Macrame
Me = Mending

Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking

Se = Sewing
Te = Tatting
Le = Leatherwork
Ns = Not specified

Table 4.10: Prizewinning categories for textile crafts at the Yorkton fairs. 1893-1915

Year	Cr	Em	Kn	K/C	Ln	Lg	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Sp	Ta	Ns
1893	--	--	04	--	--	--	--	--	01	02	03	01	--	01
1894	01	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02	01	--	01
1895	01	01	02	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02	01	--	01
1896	01	01	02	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02	01	--	-
1897	01	01	03	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02	01	--	02
1900	01	01	04	--	--	--	--	--	04	01	03	--	--	01
1901	02	09	08	--	--	--	--	--	04	01	05	01	--	17
1902	03	10	07	--	01	--	01	02	04	--	04	01	--	08
1903	02	04	03	01	01	--	--	01	03	01	04	01	--	07
1904	01	08	04	01	01	--	--	--	03	--	03	--	--	05
1905	02	05	01	--	--	--	--	--	04	01	03	--	--	06
1906	02	05	03	--	01	01	--	--	03	01	06	--	--	03
1907	01	04	03	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	05	--	--	04
1908	04	05	03	01	03	01	01	--	03	01	07	--	--	05
1909	01	08	06	01	03	01	--	--	03	01	08	--	--	04
1911	02	05	07	01	03	--	--	--	03	--	06	--	--	05
1912	03	07	07	01	03	01	--	--	03	--	07	01	--	05
1913	02	07	03	01	02	01	--	--	03	01	07	--	--	05
1914	03	18	03	01	03	--	--	--	01	01	10	--	01	07
1915	02	22	01	--	02	01	--	--	01	--	04	--	01	04
%	6.6	23.0	13.9	1.3	4.3	1.1	.4	.6	9.0	3.0	17.5	1.7	.4	17.1

Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Kn = Knitting
K/C= Knitting/Crochet

Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting

Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing

Sp = Spinning
Ta.= Tatting
Ns = Not Specified

Knitting accounted for almost 14% of all categories. There were usually two to four knitting categories. In 1894 there were none. Peak years were 1901 (eight), 1902, 1911, and 1912 (seven).

Quilting comprised 9% of all categories. From 1893 till 1897 one first prize was awarded annually. From 1900 to 1915 the annual number of categories ranged from three to four, with the exception of 1907, 1914, and 1915, when there was only one first prize for quilting.

Crochet accounted for less than 7% of all categories. The annual number of crochet categories was one from 1899 to 1900. From 1901 on it ranged between one and four. From 1903 on a first prize was awarded regularly for a category stating a choice between a knitted and a crochet project (seven in total).

Lace making accounted for more than 5% of all categories: slightly more than 1% for general lace making and more than 4% for needle and bobbin lace. Lace was not featured before 1902. From 1902 till 1906 needle and bobbin lace category was featured annually. From 1908 till 1915 the annual number of categories for needle and bobbin lace slightly increased. General lace making categories were not featured prior to 1906. From 1906 on, one first prize for general lace making was awarded regularly.

Rug making comprised 3% of all categories. One first prize was awarded annually, with the exception of 1893 when there were two first prizes.

Yorkton was one of the five communities featuring spinning, which comprised less than 2% of all categories. One first prize was awarded almost every year from 1893 till 1903. After that a first prize for spinning was awarded only in 1912.

Painting on fabric accounted for little more than .5% of all categories. It was featured on the winners' lists only in 1902 and 1903.

Only two first prizes were awarded for tatting: one in 1914, and one in 1915. Two first prizes were awarded for netting, in 1902 and in 1908.

Beadwork, hairwork, home made flowers from fabric or yarn, macramé, mending, weaving, straw weaving, leatherwork, or knitted homespun were not featured in the Yorkton fair. Slightly more than 17% (or 91) of all categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

5. Findings: The Crafts

Introduction

This chapter deals with the findings on the textile crafts in the selected agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Twenty textile crafts are identified, and discussed in alphabetical order. Each section contains the analysis of the prizewinners' lists preceded by a modern definition of the craft, a discussion of the terms found in the lists, and the description of the craft as found in late nineteenth and early twentieth century needlecraft manuals and other documents.

5.1 Beadwork

Beadwork is defined by Webster as "ornamental work in beads" (1976, p. 190). Beads were embroidered, knitted, woven, or worked in with netting (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, pp. 24-25). In the nineteenth century beadwork was often incorporated in **Berlin woolwork**, a bead worked in each stitch on the chart. The combination of beadwork with Berlin woolwork was also known as **German embroidery** (Warren, 1976, p. 28; Morris, 1962, p. 27), but this term does not appear on the prize lists. Instead the phrase "bead and woolwork" is used, as in the description of a prizewinning ottoman in the Regina fair, 1891. Often the beads used in combination with Berlin woolwork were worked in *grisaille*, in monochrome tones from dark grey to white.

Beads were used also in free form embroidery, adding extra texture (*Weldon's Encyclopedia of Needlework*, n.d., p. 105).This was probably the work described by the phrase "bead and silkwork" (Lethbridge, 1898).

Beads were also knitted and crocheted into purses and mats, but there are no phrases in the winners' lists describing knitted or crocheted beadwork. "Beadwork in weaving" appears on the winners' list of the 1914 Lethbridge fair. It probably refers to the type of beadwork woven on a special beadloom. Wristbands, necklets, and small purses could be made on these beadlooms (Hughes, n.d., pp. 178-180).

Beadwork accounts for .6% of all 7662 categories in this survey. About one third (or 47) of all beadwork categories tabulated in this survey was featured in Edmonton. A first prize for beadwork was awarded regularly until 1906. Both Medicine Hat and Regina featured 15% of all beadwork categories in the late 1890s, early 1900s, and later

Table 5.1: Number of beadwork categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	Re	Sa	PA	T
1882	1							1
1884	-				1		-	1
1885	-				1		1	2
1886	1	1			-	-	1	3
1887	1	-			-	-	1	2
1888	1	-			-	-	-	1
1889	1	-		-	-	-	1	2
1890	1	-		-	-	-	1	2
1891	-	-		-	1		-	1
1892	1	-		-	-	-		1
1893	1			-	-		1	2
1894	1			-	-	-		1
1896				-	-	-	1	1
1897			1	1	-	-	-	2
1898			1	1	-	-	-	2
1900		-	1	-	-		-	1
1902	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
1903	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
1904	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	6
1905	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
1906	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
1908		-	-	-	-	1		1
1910		-	-	-	-	1		1
1911	-	-	-	-	1	-		1
1913	-	-	-	-	1	-		1
1914	3	-	1	-	-	-		4
Total	16	3	4	7	7	2	8	47

Note:
Only the following fairs featured beadwork:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
Re = Regina
Sa = Saskatoon
PA = Prince Albert
T = Total
- = fair held, no beadwork
blank space = no fair held, or data not available.

between 1908 and 1913. In other communities such as Red Deer and Prince Albert beadwork was only featured once in a while. As shown in table 5.1, the annual number of first prizes for beadwork fluctuated between one and two for most of the period between 1882 and 1915.

5.2 Crochet

Crochet is defined by Webster as "needlework consisting of the interlocking of looped stitches formed with a single thread and a hooked needle" (1976, p. 537). Irene Emery elaborates this: "a doubly interlooped structure: loops are not only vertically interlaced, as in knitting, but laterally as well: i.e. each loop is drawn through at least two previous loops, the corresponding one in the previous row and the previous one in the same row" (1980, p. 43).

There are several aspects of crochet. One is basic crochet in which one row is worked after the other, all straight across, increasing and decreasing stitches as the shape of the project demands. Most of the crocheted items were (and are) made this way: table mats, doilies, slippers, shawls, bags, booties, hoods, etc.

A special form of basic crochet is **filet crochet**. Inspired by Renaissance darned nets[2], it was worked row upon row, the square mesh formed by chain- and double crochet stitches, and a succession of double crochet stitches replacing the darned meshes.

A second type of crochet is a composite crochet, in which parts of the project are made separately. An example of this work is **Irish crochet**, in which motifs of this work are worked in such a way that the rows conform with the curves of the outline, as in a free lace. The motifs are joined with a crochet mesh, similar to that of late 17th and early 18th century Venetian laces from which Irish crochet was adapted.

A third type of crochet is **Tunesian** or **Afghan crochet**. This is worked straight across, row upon row, like basic crochet, but differs from it, in that the work is done in two stages. In stage one, all the stitches are slipped on a needle across the whole row. This requires a long crochet hook. In stage two, the stitches are secured one by one with the previous one on the same row. As such, the work is midway between knitting and crochet. Another name for this type of crochet is **Tricot stitch**. It is a favorite technique to make afghans, since they are made in strips, and the texture of the work lends itself easily to cross stitch embroidery. It is possible that a number of the crocheted afghans were made this way, although the terms tricot or Tunesian stitch do not appear on the prizewinners' lists.

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[2] For a description of darned nets see section 5.3.7

A fourth type of crochet is **hairpin lace**. In this work crochet stitches secure large yarn loops formed by winding the yarn around the tines of a U-shaped instrument, traditionally a large hairpin. Only one row can be worked. Several lengths of this work are crocheted together to form lacy shawls, tablecovers, or edgings. Hairpin lace appeared on the prizewinners' lists from the late 1890s to 1915. In the 1910s it was also called **Maltese lace** (*Modern Priscilla*, Feb. 1916, p. 9).

Another composite is the combination of crochet and manufactured braids or tapes. A large variety of these tapes were available during the period under study. They were used in embroidery and lacemaking as well as with crochet. The phrase "crochet and braidwork combined" appears often on the prize lists from the 1880s to 1915. Sometimes a particular braid is mentioned, such as **Gordon braid**, which was a narrow cord with picot loops on both sides, **coronation braid**, which resembled a coarse strand with a close and regular succession of tapered thick sections called rolls, or **rick rack**, a zig-zag tape. Needlecraft manuals, magazines and newspapers of the period gave instructions for making lacy trims, insertions, collars, yokes, etc., using these braids. Other braids mentioned in needlecraft manuals are: **antimacassar** or **novelty braid**, which was a narrow tape regularly widening out into fancy picoted medallions, and **Honiton braid** and **ideal Honiton braid** , which resembled a succession of small ovals, that could have been made as a bobbin lace.

Of the 617 crochet categories in this survey 450 did not specify the item produced. The remaining 167 categories featured 35 coverlets, 27 tablecloths, 13 shawls and afghans, 12 pairs of slippers, 11 pairs of baby booties, nine doilies, six centerpieces, seven baby bonnets, some jackets, handbags, yokes, pincushions and cushions. There was also a variety of occasional items such as a toilet set, a bib, a tray cloth, and trimming on bed sheets and pillowcases.

Table 5.2: Number of crochet categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1882	01										01
1884	02					02			1		05
1885	01					02			1		04
1886	02	01				03			1		07
1887	02	02		2		02	01	1	-		10
1888	01	02				02	01	2	1		09
1889	01	03		3		02	03	1	1		14
1890	01	04		2		02	01	1	1		12
1891	01	05		4		02		1	-		13
1892	03	02		4	1	03	01	1		-	15
1893	02	--		3		07			2	-	14
1894	02	--		3	1	--	01	1		1	09
1895	03					08				1	12
1896				3			01		1	1	06
1897			01	5				1		1	08
1898			01	3					3		07
1899			02	7		01	01		2		13
1900		02	02	3		04	--	1	3	1	16
1901	01	01	02	3		03		1	2	2	15
1902	05	--	01	3		04	01	1	2	3	20
1903	04	--	02	3		02	02	4	2	2	21
1904	03	01	02	4		05	01	1	1	1	19
1905	04	--	02	4	1	03	01	1	-	2	18
1906	04	--	03	3	3	04	01	1	1	2	22
1907	03	--	03	2	2	02	01		4	1	18
1908		08	04	3	2	04	01	1		4	27
1909		14	03	1	1			3		1	23
1910		14	03	1		01	03	-			22
1911		06	05			08	10	2		2	33
1912	11	09	08		2	08	04			3	45
1913	05	--	16	6	4	10	--	8		2	51
1914	10	12	--	6	3	07	07			3	48
1915	11	14			4	10	16	3		2	60
Total	83	100	60	81	24	111	58	36	29	35	617

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
MH = Medicine Hat
Sa = Saskatoon
Yo = Yorkton
Ca = Calgary
RD = Red Deer
Re = Regina
T = Total
Le = Lethbridge
PA= Prince Albert
BA = the Battlefords
-- = no crochet
blank space = no fair held, or data unavailable

Of the 7662 categories tabulated in this survey, 615 were crochet categories. As shown in Table 5.2, crochet was featured in all communities of this survey, but most often in Regina, (where 18% of all crochet categories were found), followed by Calgary (16%), Edmonton (13%), and Medicine Hat (13%). The average number of crochet categories per fair in the 1880s tended to fluctuate between one and three. In the early 1890s the fluctuation continued, but between one and four. Between 1896 and 1907 the average number of crochet categories per annual fair stabilized around two. From 1909 on the average number increased from three in 1908 to eight in 1915. That last year featured about 10% of all crochet categories in this survey.

85 categories stated a choice between knitting and crochet, e.g., "baby booties, knit or crochet". As shown in table 5.3, 35% of the categories stating this choice were featured in Calgary, 17% in Red Deer, 14% in Edmonton, and 13% in Regina. This type of choice was not featured prior to 1902, and appeared only occasionally from 1902 till 1907. From 1907 on the total number of categories increased to range from six to nine. In 1911 and 1912 sixteen first prizes were awarded for categories stating this choice. Among the articles which were either knitted or crocheted were 22 jackets, 12 baby bonnets, 11 shawls, 13 coverlets, eight tea cozies, four sweaters, and an occasional pair of slippers, a baby dress, and a bib.

5.3 Embroidery

5.3.1 General Remarks

Embroidery is defined by Webster as "the art or process of forming decorative designs in plain and fancy stitches" (1976, p. 740). Emery defines it as the "use of accessory stitches (i.e. stitches taken through the fabric with a threaded needle) to decorate and embellish a fabric". She adds that "whether or not the stitches also serve practical purposes, they can be classified as embroidery" (1980, p. 23).

Embroidery was the most extensive craft on the prize lists. The names of the categories referred not only to techniques and the items decorated but also to the materials used, both fabrics and embroidery threads. The fabrics ranged from the most luxurious, such as velvet, plush, cashmere, silk and satin to the more common ones, such

Table 5.3 Number of knitting/crochet categories at selected fairs

year	Ed	Ca	Le	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	T
1902	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	01
1903	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	02
1904	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	03
1905	1		-	2	-	-	-	03
1906		-	-	1	-	-	-	01
1907		-	-	2	-	-		02
1908		2	-	2	-	-	-	05
1909		5	-	2			1	09
1910		5	-		-	1		06
1911		7	-		3	4	1	16
1912	1	6	4	3	1	-		16
1913	2		-	2	2	-	-	07
1914	2	4	-	-	2	-		08
1915	3	1	-	-	3	-	-	07
Total	12	30	4	15	11	5	2	86

Note: only the following fairs featured a choice between knitting and crochet:

Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
RD = Red Deer
Re = Regina
Sa = Saskatoon
Ba = the Battlefords
T = Total
-- = no choice featured
blank space = no fair held, or data unavailable

as cotton, wool, linen, muslin, felt, and humble ones such as scrim, burlap, denim, and huckaback.

The fabric influenced the choice of embroidery technique. Entries for the category "embroidery on linen" featured most likely counted thread techniques, in which the weave of the fabric was the base of the design, and every stitch was worked over specific number of yarns. Designs for these embroideries were often charted on a square grid. Entries for "embroidery on satin" or "on velvet" on the other hand were most likely done in free embroidery, in which the design is freely worked without consideration for the weave of the fabric. Free embroidery was best done on fabrics too finely woven for counted thread work, or on fabrics with a nap (de Dillmont, 1886, p. 81).

Embroidery threads were available in several qualities. The finest silk was **filofloss** or **filo silk**. This was a 2-ply loosely twisted silk. This thread was mainly used for fine embroidery in satin- and long and short stitches, because it blended colors effectively.

However, the thread roughened easily when snagged (Women's Institutes, 1912, p. 6; Nonotuck Silk Co., 1889, p. 3; Clabburn, 1976, p. 106). There was also another fine silk thread, **filoselle**, which was made from damaged cocoons and therefore carded and spun. Filoselle was not quite as fine and shiny as filofloss, but it was less expensive and did not snag as easily (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 206; Clabburn, 1976, p. 106).

Twist was a tightly twisted, medium silk thread, and as such easier to work with than filofloss. It was recommended for the emboidery of items that needed to be washed often (Women's Institute, 1912, p. 6). **Rope silk** was a coarser embroidery thread, but not as tightly twisted as twist. This thread was recommended for embroidery on heavier silks, and for quick embroidery (Nonotuck Silk Co., 1889, p. 6). The terms "filosilk", "filoselle" and "rope silk" appeared often in the winners' lists.

Fabrics made especially for embroidery were also mentioned often on the winners' lists. These fabrics were **bolting cloth** and canvas. Bolting cloth was originally a fine hair or linen fabric made for flour sieves (Ogilvie, 1898, p. 302). In the 19th century it became popular for children's samplers (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 27; Bath, 1979, p. 200; Clabburn, 1979, p. 33). The term bolting cloth appears also in painting categories, e.g., "painting on bolting cloth".

5.3.2 Outline Embroidery

The most popular and enduring embroidery technique in this survey was **outline work**. Sofia Caulfeild and Blanche Saward stated that this work was an adaptation from Oriental quilts (1882, p. 37). The work consisted of stitching outlines of motifs with the **outline stitch**. This stitch was probably the stem stitch, or a subtle variation of it.

Mary Thomas and Virginia Bath insist that the outline stitch is slanted slightly to the left as the work proceeded (1934, p. 223; 1979, p. 126), but Caulfeild and Saward do not. They say that the outline-, the stem-, the rope- and the crewel stitch are all the same stitch. In the directions for an outline work project, Caulfeild and Saward instruct the embroiderer to keep the thread to the right of the needle (1882, p. 37)[3].

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[3] For the use of outline stitching in other types of embroidery see sections 5.3.15, 5.3.18, and 5.3 25.

5.3.3 Drawn Threadwork and Pulled Embroidery

Drawnwork was almost as popular as outline work. It does not appear in the prizewinners' lists until the turn of the century, but the number of categories for this work quickly mushroomed until it formed almost its own subdivision around 1915. By that time there were prizes awarded for the best drawnwork bureau scarves, tablecloths, tray cloths, handkerchiefs and pillow shams.

The term drawnwork is a confusing one, because it can refer to two different techniques: one in which the yarns of the fabric are drawn out, and a second, in which the stitches are drawn tightly pulling the yarns apart. Caulfeild and Saward decribe the first type under the heading Drawnwork (1882, pp. 157-161). Mrs. B. Palliser, Mrs. R. E. Head, and Mrs. F.N. Jackson, on the other hand, refer to the second technique as drawnwork (1910, p. 262; 1922, p. 75; 1900, p. 144). Caulfeild and Saward also state that Tonder lace, *broderie de Nancy* and Dresden point are all names for drawnwork. As long as the distinction between the two techniques is not made, this may be true. These three terms have always referred to embroidery in which the stitches pulled the yarns apart, and never to embroidery in which yarns were pulled out.

In the late 1880s the terms **drawn thread work** and **drawn fabric work** were introduced to avoid this confusion. The term drawn thread work referred to the technique in which yarns are drawn out of the fabric, and the term drawn fabric referred to that of drawing the yarnd apart or together by way of pulling the stitches tight. The new terms were not immediately accepted by everyone. Of the selected fairs only Yorkton, Red Deer and Lethbridge used the term drawn thread work, all other fairs continued the confusing term drawnwork[4]. The translation of de Dillmont's work uses the terms and so does *Weldons' Practical Shilling Guide* (n.d., p. 19), while needlecraft magazines such as *Home Needlework Magazine* did not. The prize lists in this survey did not make the distinction, so that it is impossible to state with certainty that the sideboard scarfs, etc. were either drawn thread work or drawn fabric work.

The simplest form of drawn thread work was **hemstitching.** (Butterick Publishing, 1921, p. 119). Two or three threads were drawn out, just above a turned hem. The exposed transverse threads were worked into small bundles with stitches that at the same time secured the hem. This produced a very decorative hem and was often used on handkerchiefs, runners and other linens, where such decoration was appropriate (*Weldon's Practical Shilling Guide*, n.d., p. 130).

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[4] Since there continued to be a certain amount of confusion in the use of drawn fabric and drawn thread, the term **pulled embroidery** was introduced in the 1970s, to replace the term drawn fabric embroidery

While hemstitching limited itself to the drawing out of only a few (at the most five) yarns, drawn thread work had no such limitation. The work could range from simple variations of hemstitching, to an elaborate network of bundled warps and wefts, with little of the original fabric remaining. Groups of exposed yarns were buttonholed over, needle woven with white or colored embroidery floss, re-grouped with knotted stitches, or twisted around each other as in a leno weave. The empty squares, formed by the withdrawal of both warp and weft yarns, were filled with embroidered wheels and spiders (de Dillmont, 1886, pp. 518-524)[5].

5.3.4 Braiding

Braiding was another popular and enduring embroidery technique. The term refers to the material used, and not to the process of making a tape. Ogilvie states that braids were used as trimming of female dress as well as for stay laces (1898, Vol. I, p. 321). *Weldon's Encyclopedia for Needlework* refers to the material used in braiding as costume braid (n.d., p. 75). Caulfeild and Saward concur that braiding was chiefly used for the decoration of dresses and jackets, but added that it was also used for simple antimacassars and mats (1882, p. 189). Braids were available in a great variety, as discussed in section 5.2, on crochet and braid combined.

The embroidery technique called braiding consisted of sewing the braid onto the fabric in a continuous scrolling design. The curves were slightly gathered on the inside so that the braid would remain flat. A fine thread, matching the braid in color, was used, so that the stitching would be inconspicuous. This stitching was usually done along the center of the braid except in sharp curves, which were stitched down on the outside (de Dillmont, 1886, pp. 152-154; Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 39).

Soutache or **Russian braid** was often used for braiding on dresses and jackets, since it could easily be machine stitched along the center groove. A special braiding of sewing categories increased from two (1906) to six (1913).

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[5] Pulled thread work and drawnwork were also featured in other techniques. See section 5.3.21 and 5.3.27.

Both types of lace making accounted for about 3.5% of all categories. There was only one prize awarded for general lace making (in 1904), while a prize was awarded for needle and bobbin lace for most years between 1904 and 1915.

Quilting accounted for little more than 5% of all categories. From 1887 till 1908 one first prize was awarded at almost every fair. From 1909 till 1915 the number of categories fluctuated from none (1911) to three (1913).

Battleford was one of the six communities featuring macramé, which accounted for more than 2% of all categories. Most first prizes were awarded between 1887 and 1900 ---one at almost every fair --- and one first prize was awarded in 1909.

Netting comprised more than 2% of all categories. No prizes were awarded for netting before 1903. From 1903 till 1915 only one first prize was awarded at each fair. Tatting accounted for 1.5% of all categories, being featured only occasionally. First prizes were awarded in 1888, 1891 and from 1906 till 1915, but not at every fair.

Painting comprised more than 1% of all categories. No prize was awarded prior to 1909. From 1909 till 1915 one or two first prizes were awarded per fair, but none in 1911.

Mending accounted for 1% of all categories. It was only featured in 1913 and in 1915, when two first prizes were awarded.

Laundry comprised less than .5% of all categories. There was only one first prize awarded for this craft in 1909.

Home made flowers accounted for .5% of all categories. A first prize for this craft was awarded only in 1913 and in 1915. Only one first prize was awarded for leatherwork, in 1887.

Beadwork, hairwork, spinning, weaving, straw weaving or knitted homespun were not featured at the Battlefords' fairs. About 25% (or 96) of all categories collected from the Battlefords fairs did not indicate a specific textile craft.

4.11 Yorkton

Yorkton was founded by a land company. In 1882 and 1883 the York Farmer's Colonization Company formed two communities in Saskatchewan: Yorkton and Saltcoats. Although the Company failed, the settlers succeeded (Archer, 1983, p. 72). Yorkton's first fair was held in 1885. Unfortunately the town had no local newspaper coverage, until 1896. *The Winnipeg Free Press* reported on Yorkton between 1885 and 1899, but published only the prizewinners' lists of fairs held in Manitoba, while the Regina papers seldom covered the events in Yorkton. In 1896, however, James Peaker, who was an active member of the agricultural association, started *The Yorkton Enterprise* (McCracken, 1965), which faithfully published the prize list each year.

In 1889 Yorkton was linked with the railroad network, and slowly the community grew. In 1894 it became a village (ibid.), and five years later it became the distribution center of a large influx of Doukhobors. Two colonies of Doukhobors were formed just north of Yorkton, and a third south west of Prince Albert. While this influx of settlers made Yorkton a trade town, its growth was still slow, and appeared to a visitor around 1910 as "a merely half made street" (Sykes, 1912, p. 76). The influence of the Doukhobors on the agricultural fair was minimal. A category concerning Doukhobor crafts appeared only once on the prizewinners' list, in 1901.

Examination of the newspaper reports on the fair revealed that no fairs were held in 1898, 1899, and 1910. Despite these lacunae 531 categories were tabulated, of which 440 (83%) contained terms indicating a specific textile craft.

As indicated by table 4.10, embroidery comprised 23% of all categories. Before 1900 only one first prize was awarded annually. From 1901 till 1913 the number of embroidery categories increased fluctuating each year between four and ten. In 1914 the number of categories increased to 18, and in 1915 to 22.

Sewing comprised almost 18% of all categories. From 1893 till 1900 two to three first prizes were awarded annually. From 1901 till 1907 the annual number of categories increased to range from three (1904, 1905) to five (1907). From 1908 till 1914 the annual number of categories fluctuated from six (1911) to ten (1914). In 1915, however, there were only four sewing categories.

attachment was available for sewing machines in the early decades of the twentieth century (Fuller, 1917, p. 16).

From 1912 on **Coronation braidwork** appeared on the prize lists. Contemporary needlecraft magazines gave instructions for centerpieces and dress patterns with floral and arabesque designs outlined in Coronation braid. The embroiderer was advised to sew the braid securely to the fabric. The braid was stitched with inconspicuous stitches through the underside of the rolls and by couching stitches over the narrow parts so that it would not become undone in the laundry (Brainerd & Armstrong Co., 1913, pp. 53-54).

5.3.5 Berlin Woolwork and Tapestry

Berlin woolwork was one of the earliest embroidery techniques on the prizewinners' lists and remained there till well into the first decade of the twentieth century. It was a type of canvas embroidery done with the aid of a pattern printed on **point paper**, a type of graph paper, of which each square represented a stitch (Clabburn, 1876, p. 29). When these charts were marketed in 1804, the embroidery itself was not new. Before 1804 patterns were outlined and painted on the canvas to be embroidered, and the shading was left to the skill of the individual embroiderer. The printed and handpainted charts, however, made it possible for anyone who mastered the simple cross stitch to produce a delicately shaded embroidery. Soon after the first charts were printed by Philipson in Berlin, another printer, Carl Wittich, recognizing their potential, started to produce them on a large scale. Although these charts were expensive --- about 40 pounds sterling (Caulfeild and Saward, 1882, p. 28)--- they were less costly than the painting of the canvasses, and had the added advantage of showing the customer in advance what the finished project looked like (Bath, 1979, p. 201).

The type of embroidery was not called Berlin woolwork until the soft **Zephyr wool**, made in Germany from merino fleece became available in England (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 28; Bath, 1879, p. 209). Since then the term Berlin woolwork became almost synonymous with embroidery in the English language (Morris, 1962, Chap. 2; Warren, 1976, p. 33). Berlin woolwork was introduced in North America in the 1850s and there it remained popular after it became less fashionable in England (Morris, ibid.; Bath, 1979, p. 204).

The term Berlin woolwork disappears from the prize lists after 1908. The term **tapestry**, which appeared on the lists since the late 1890s, remains. Examination of contemporary manuals reveal that there was little difference between the two. The work described by de Dilmont in 1886 and in *Weldon's Encyclopedia for Needlework* under the heading Tapestry is very similar to that described by Caulfeild and Saward as Berlin woolwork. This suggests that wool embroidery on canvas remained popular, and that only the name had changed. Weldon's recognized that tapestry is a weaving term and called the work needlework tapestry (n.d., p. 291).

The stitches most often used in Berlin woolwork, and later tapestry embroidery were the cross stitch and the tent stitch. The cross stitch was also called *gros point*, and the tent stitch *petit point* (Bath, 1979, p. 225; de Dillmont, 1886, p. 291). By 1912, however, the terms did not refer to different stitches any more, but to the size of the canvas used: *gros point* referring to tent stitches worked on coarse canvas and *petit point* referring to tent stitches on fine canvas (Women's Institutes, 1912, p. 52). Bath stated that *gros point* refers to work on canvas with less than eight meshes per inch and *petit point* to work on canvas with more than sixteen meshes per inch (1979, p. 174).

Other stitches were also used in Berlin woolwork. Around the 1850s the velvet stitch or plush stitch was introduced. This gave a textural effect to the work. The loops of the velvet stitch were often cut and shaped to create three-dimensional details such as fur on animals, robes, or feathers on birds. This work was called **raised Berlin woolwork**, while the embroidery without velvet stitching was known as **flat Berlin woolwork**. Both terms appeared on the prize lists in this survey

5.3.6 Mountmellick Embroidery

Mountmellick embroidery was popular from the turn of the century, although there is a prizewinner for Mountmellick at the the Regina fair in 1895. This embroidery was a type of whitework, usually in floral designs, worked in padded satin-, outline-, feather stitches, French knots and a few other filling stitches. These stitches were selected to give a strong texture to the floral.designs, and also to have most of the embroidery thread on the right side of the work, leaving a minimum of thread on the wrong side (*Weldon's Encyclopedia for Needlework*, n.d., p. 2 57).

The spelling of the name varied on the prize lists, being listed as "Mt. Mellick" and as "Mellickwork" The work was named after Mountmellick, near Waterford in Ireland, where it originated. It was started by Joanna Carter of the Society of Friends, as a cottage industry as relief for the poor. Some stated that this was around 1825 (Morris, 1962, Chap. 2; Swain, 1982, p. 27). Clabburn stated around 1840 (1976, p. 176), while Warren noted that the work started to capture a market in the 1830s (1976, p. 30). Mountmellick sold well for some time, but declined after the death of Mrs. Carter. The Industrial Society of Mountmellick, established in 1870, revived the industry somewhat (Swain, 1982, p. 37). Leisured ladies of the middle class made it a favorite pastime in the 1880s (Warren, 1976, p. 30).

Originally the work was done with fine knitting cotton on white jean (*Needlecraft Practical Journal*, n.d., #11, p. 3), which was an excellent choice for household goods that had to be washed often. Mountmellick work had a typical edging, which was knitted, and then partially ravelled to form a fringe (ibid., p. 12; *Weldon's Practical Shilling Guide*, n.d., p. 112). Needlecraft magazines also advised to use silk for the more dainty articles with Mountmellick work, such as a tea cozy. Embroidery thread companies carried special silk thread for Mountmellick work.

5.3.7 Darned Net or Filet

Darned Net appeared on the prize lists from the 1890s on. There are two types of nets which were darned. One is called **filet**, and has square meshes, and the other has round or hexagonal meshes. The latter net was commercially made and darned with simple geometric patterns for curtains and valances (*Canadian Home Needlework*, 1909, pp. 223-224), or worked with small delicate designs to imitate lace (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 148).

Filet was often made by the needleworker herself[4], but it was also commercially available. The net was lashed to a flannel covered wire frame to keep it taut during the embroidery. The design was formed by filling the meshes with darning stitches or with a **linen** or **cloth stitch**, which resembled weaving. This type of work was done in Europe from the Middle Ages on, and was known as **lacis**. The Victorians, however, in their fondness for three dimensional effects and contrasts in texture, worked the net also with lacy stitches such as the *point d'esprit*, and with raised bars, and outlined the motifs with heavier thread (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, pp. 233-243). This elaborate work is known as **Guipure d'Art** (Bath, 1979, p. 134), a term also appearing on the winners' lists.

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[4] See section 5.11 for a description of making the net.

5.3.8 Eyelet Embroidery

Eyelet embroidery, also known as *Broderie Anglaise* Eglish embroidery, Madeira work or Irish work, appeared on the prize lists from 1905 on. Caulfeild and Saward stated that the pattern of true Broderie Anglaise consisted of holes of varying sizes, arranged in geometrical or floral motifs (1882, p. 48). De Dillmont stated that the embroidery once known as Broderie Anglaise was at the time of writing called Madeira work (1886, p. 77). Clabburn stated there are only minor differences between Madeira work and Broderie Anglaise (1976, pp. 41 and 76).

The Brainerd & Armstrong Co. described eyelet embroidery as a whitework, in which part of the design consisted of little round or oval holes. These holes were punched with a stiletto or cut with fine scissors, and overcast with embroidery cotton (1913, p. 26). It was used to decorate ladies underwear, shirtwaists, and delicate household linen.

5.3.9 Appliqué

Appliqué appeared on the prize lists from the late 1880s on, throughout the period under study. The term referred to the application of pieces of fabric on a background fabric. Caulfeild and Saward favored the use of velvets and silks for appliqué: "laying one handsome material on another" (1882, p. 9). They recommended that the velvet and silk pieces were backed by pasting them onto linen before applying them onto another rich fabric. A gold or silk cord was couched along the edges of the applied pieces to hide the sewing stitches (1882, pp. 9-10). De Dillmont recommended the use of one or more rows of chain stitches to finish the edges (1886, p. 203). Linen appliqué did not need a backing. The pieces were sewn on the fabric and finished with feather- or buttonhole stitches to hide the tackings (ibid., pp. 9-10). The latter type of appliqué appears also in the needlecraft magazines of the early twentieth century (*Corticelli Home Needlework* , January, 1909, pp. 16-20)[7].

5.3.10 Crewel Embroidery and Kensington Art Work

Crewel embroidery appeared on the prize lists from the late 1880s till the turn of the century. At one time the term crewel embroidery meant simply embroidery with **crewel** , which was a fine worsted or woollen embroidery thread (*Weldon's Encyclopedia of Needlework*, n.d., p. 353). In the late 19th century the term became associated with a type of free embroidery adapted from 17th century wool embroidery (Masters, 1901, p. 17).

The Art Needlecraft Movement started this revival. The 17th century bedhangings displayed in the newly opened South Kensington Museum (later called the Victoria and Albert Museum) inspired members of the Arts and Crafts movement to develop what was called **Jacobean embroidery**. This was taught in centers such as the Kensington School of Art Needlework, and became known as crewel embroidery (Clabburn, 1976, p. 71; Bath, 1979, p. 125). Careful observation of needlework descriptions in early twentieth century publications revealed that **Kensington art needlework** and **art needlework** was worked in silk floss instead of wool. Worked in softly muted, almost sombre, colors these embroideries were stitched predominantly with a subtle variation of the stem stitch, which became better known as the crewel stitch and as the **Kensington stitch** (Masters, 1901, p. 22.).

5.3.11 Arrasene Embroidery and Chenille Embroidery

Arrasene embroidery and **chenille embroidery** appeared on the prize lists from the 1880s till the turn of the century. Arrasene was also spelled "arrascene", or "arasine". Both chenille and arrasene were tufted yarns made of wool or silk. They resembled hairy caterpillars, to which the term chenille refers. There were two types of chenille threads. One was fine and soft, and used as embroidery floss. The other was stiffened with a wire, and was couched on fabric, or used as embroidery floss on large meshed canvas or perforated cards (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 65). Caulfeild and Saward stated that arrasene work was a recent invention at the time of writing, while chenille work was a revival of a French eighteenth century court fashion (1882, p. 14), but did not explain the exact difference between the two. Chenille or arrasene added texture to embroidery, canvas work as well as free embroidery. Because the chenille or arrasene threads could easily be damaged by abrasion or friction, it was used mostly to decorate portières, which were a type of curtains hanging across a doorway, curtains, or valances, which were not rubbed very often (Morris, 1962, p. 161; Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 14).

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[7] See section 5.3.24 for the use of applique in another type of embroidery and section 5.13 for the its use in quilting.

5.3.12 Ribbonwork

Ribbon work appears on the prize lists also as **Rococo work** and **Chinese ribbonwork**. It became fashionable in England in the 1870s (Clabburn, 1976, p. 243). The term can refer to several techniques. One was the use of very narrow ribbons, less than an eighth to one quarter inch, as an embroidery thread. It was used in rococo inspired designs, such as bouquets of flowers tied with ribbons, or flowerbaskets (Morris, 1962, p. 162). Another technique was to couch the ribbon into loops forming petals. The third technique used a fairly wide ribbon, gathered along one edge, forming three-dimensional flower shapes stitched onto the fabric (Fales, 1917, pp. 476-478; Morris, 1962, p. 168; Clabburn, 1976, p. 243).

5.3.13 Hardanger Embroidery

Hardanger or **Norwegian embroidery** appeared on the prize lists after 1905. It is a counted thread cutwork technique, developed in the Hardanger district in Norway. Its main characteristic is the *kloster block* with which designs are built up. Each *kloster block* consists of four satin stitches worked over four threads of a coarse linen. These units were arranged in geometric motifs such as squares or diamonds, which were cut and fulled with simple lace stitches or drawn thread stitches (Clabburn, 1976, p. 126; de Dillmont, 1886, pp. 149-150; *Home Needlework* , 1914, #6, p. 1)[1].

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[1] See sections 5.3.14 and 5.3.24 for discussions of other cutwork techniques.

5.3.14 Hedebo Embroidery

Hedebo embroidery appeared on the prize lists from 1911 on. The spelling varies from "hedibo [sic]" to the proper Danish spelling *hedebosygning* (Calgary, 1911). The technique is a cutwork developed by the peasants on the heath west of Copenhagen. According to *Every Woman's Encyclopedia* it was developed from a type of eighteenth century whitework with small squares of drawn thread work into a cutwork with large squares and circles and little whitework in the middle of the 19th century. The work was fashionable in Copenhagen and the rest of Denmark till the 1870s, when it declined. The efforts of revival societies made it popular again in the capitals of Europe as well as in Denmark. The cut-outs became smaller after the 1870s, but more varied in shape: half moons, hearts, ovals and teardrops were filled with a variety of motifs in lace stitches (1910, Vol. V, p. 3495). This was the type of work described in the *Home Needlecraft Magazine* of January 1915, and the *Needlecraft Practical Journal*, # 52. De Dillmont illustrated her discussion on Hedebo with an earlier type, featuring series of small square cut-outs filled with drawn thread work (1886, pp. 81-83)[9].

5.3.15 Monogram Embroidery and Initials

Monogram embroidery or **initials** were usually worked on guest towels in the competitions of the fairs. Contemporary manuals strongly recommended the embroidery of monograms or initials on table and bed linen. There was a great variety of lettering to choose from. The technique for the embroidery of the letters was usually limited to the padded satin stitch, because this was resistant to frequent laundering. Outline stitching[10] filled with French knots was also recommended (Masters, 1901, pp. 23-24; *Canadian Home Needlework*, 1909, #3, p. 236).

5.3.16 Cross Stitch and Russian Cross Stitch

Cross stitch appeared on the prizewinners' lists from the turn of the century on. The terms "cross stitch and Berlin woolwork" and "cross stitch on canvas" were featured on the lists before 1900, suggesting that cross stitching at that time was still similar to

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[9] See section 5.3.13 and 5.3.24 for the discussions of other types of cutwork identified in this survey.

[10] See section 5.3.2.

Berlin woolwork. Since the introduction of Russian embroidery, cross stitch was also used on linen and other closely woven fabrics.

The term **Russian cross stitch** appeared on the lists from 1903 on. Traditional Russian patterns on stamped linen were introduced in London and other European capitals by the Broderie Russe Company in the 1880s (Clabburn, 1976, p. 230). Cross stitches were most often used for such patterns, in combination with the Holbein stitch. The Holbein stitch is a combination of backstitching and half cross stitching, to form outlines compatible with the squared off motifs of cross stitching. Similar patterns were later embroidered on fabrics of which the yarns could be easily counted, such as Java canvas (Morris, 1962, pp. 30-31). To ensure that the stitches were perfectly square on closely woven fabrics, a piece of canvas was tacked on the fabric. The motifs were cross stitched over the canvas yarns and through the fabric underneath. When the motif was complete, the canvas yarns were withdrawn.

5.3.17 Wallachian Embroidery

Wallachian embroidery appeared on the prize lists around 1909. It is not quite clear what technique the term referred to, because there were two different descriptions with the same name. De Dillmont described a type of cutwork, while the manual published by Brainerd and Armstrong described solid button hole stitching "worked from the midrib in leaves, and from the center in round forms" (1903, p. 20).

5.3.18 Bulgarian Embroidery

Bulgarian embroidery appeared on the prize lists from the late 1890s on. Inspired by Bulgarian peasant embroideries, it became popular in North America in the 1890s (Clabburn, 1976, p. 41). Descriptions of Bulgarian embroidery vary. Caulfeild and Saward stated that the work resembled bands of closely woven silk brocade and that the stitch resembled closely worked buttonhole stitches (1882, p. 55). De Dillmont called the stitch an **oblique slave stitch** (1886, pp. 133-135). Manuals of the early twentieth century described Bulgarian stitching as parallel rows of outline stitches[11], forming a border (Brainerd & Armstrong, 1903, p. 28; Fales, 1917, p. 456). An earlier manual by Brainerd and Armstrong stated that Bulgarian embroidery was characterized by a black outline around every form and color in the design (1903, p. 28).

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[11] See section 5.3.2 for a description of outline stitching.

5.3.19 Huckaback Embroidery

Huckaback embroidery and **huckaback work** appear on the prize lists from the late 1890s. Ogilvie defines huckaback as a "kind of linen cloth with raised figures, something like damask, used for tablecloths or towels" (1898, Vol. IV, p. 533). Later definitions describe huckaback as an "absorbant durable cotton, linen or cotton/linen blend fabric with a textured weave" (Webster, 1976, p. 1098). Huckaback embroidery took advantage of the particular weave by stitching running stitches along the fabric, picking up the floats with the embroidery yarns (Clabburn, 1976, p. 135; Nonotuck Silk Co., 1889, pp. 13-17).

5.3.20 Shadow Embroidery

Shadow embroidery appeared on the prize lists from 1907 on. Shadow work is defined by the Women's Institute as close herring bone stitching done on the wrong side of a sheer fabric, so that the design on the right side is outlined in what appears to be back stitches, and filled with the color of the embroidery yarn, muted by that of the fabric (1912, p. 45).

5.3.21 Punchwork

Punchwork appeared on the prizewinners' lists from 1912 on. It was also known as **Rhodes work**. It was a pulled embroidery[12], in which holes are formed by pulling the yarns of the fabric together, rather than by pulling the yarns out. Brainerd and Armstrong explain that the work appears like "little squares of material bound by each side by a stitch" (1913, p. 41) and that it was often used to form a background for a design worked in outline- or chainstitch (1913, pp. 32-34). *Weldon's Encyclopedia of Needlework* stated that the punch stitch is also used to join lace neatly to fabric (n.d., pp. 405-412).

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[12] See section 5.3.3.

5.3.22 Jewel Embroidery

Jewel embroidery appeared sporadically on the prize lists from 1898 on. The term **jewelor spangle work** appeared on the 1895 prizewinners' lists of Regina. Two different descriptions of the work were found. Morris stated that imitation jewels and sequins (spangles) were used for a rich effect in silk work (1962, p. 163). Clabburn stated that embroidery with a 2-ply rayon embroidery thread was called Jewel embroidery. This rayon embroidery thread was known in England as **Star Sylko** and in North America as **jewel embroidery thread** (1976, p. 68 and p. 147). Brainerd and Armstrong explained that jewel embroidery was worked in embroidery thread only, the color chosen to match that of well-known gems, and that dot motifs, indicating "jewels" were worked in heavily padded stitches (1903, p. 28).

Apparently both types of jewel embroidery were current in the period under study. The category jewel embroidery on the winners' list of the 1909 Calgary fair had the remark: "no prizes awarded, no jewels". This suggested that the competitors handed in work according to Armstrong and Brainerd's description, while the judges expected the work described by Morris.

5.3.23 Italian Relief Embroidery

Italian relief embroidery, which was also called **medieval work**, appeared on the prizewinners' lists between 1910 and 1914. It was a needlelace technique in which the motifs, usually flower petals, were formed by buttonhole stitches. The petals were attached on the fabric at the base and tip only. It was mainly used on household linen (Women's Institutes, 1912, p. 44).

5.3.24 Roman Embroidery and Venetian Ladder Work

Roman embroidery, also known as **Roman cutwork, Strasbourg work**, and **Venetian work or cutwork**, appeared on the prize lists from 1907 on with one exception: Regina, 1894. It was a type of cutwork in which the outline of the motifs were closely embroidered with buttonhole stitches. Once the outlines were buttonholed, the fabric between the stitches was carefully cut away and the resulting spaces between the motifs filled with buttonholed bars and few lace stitches (Clabburn, 1976, p. 227; Caulfeild &

Saward, 1882, p. 426; *Needle and Brush*, 1889, pp. 19-23); *The Girl's Own Annual*, 1911, p. 57).

A variation of Roman cutwork was **Venetian ladder work** (Saskatoon, 1912). In this work the cut out areas were rather elongated and divided by buttonholed bars, like rungs of a ladder (*The Girl's Own Annual*, 1911, pp. 376-7)[13].

5.3.25 French Embroidery

French embroidery appeared on the prizewinners' lists in 1914. The work consisted of raised satin- and stem stitches, often combined with small eyelets (Clabburn, 1976, p. 112). Morris stated that the work was similar to **Ayrshire work**, which also featured cutwork with whitework (1962, pp. 169-170). Illustrations in contemporary magazines show the more simple work as described by Clabburn.

5.3.26 Rambler Rose

Rambler rose or **rambling rose** was featured on the prize lists since 1913. Its main characteristic was a three-dimensional rose motif. The heart of the rose was worked with straight stitches going across from outline to outline, until the center was built up to almost three sixteenth of an inch in height. An alternative method was to build the center up with French knots. The petals of the rose were formed by closely worked outline stitches, crowding over each other and building up in height as they went around and around the center. Gradually the stitches were worked less closely so that the outer petals of the rose were flat on the fabric (Brainerd & Armstrong, 1913, p. 44; Women's Institutes, 1912, p.16).

5.3.27 Merezhka

A number of techniques appeared only occasionally on the prize list, often no more than once. One such technique is **mereshg**, which was found on the winners' list of the 1913 Regina fair, and the prize lists of Calgary from 1908. De Dillmont described it as a drawn threadwork, from Ukrainian origin, in which only one set of yarns is removed from the fabric at regular intervals, and then worked with drawn fabric stitches to form geometrical designs (1886, pp. 535-538). Nancy Ruryk stated that there are two types of *merezhka*,both drawn fabric fabric techniques. One, *merezhka protihanka*, featuring fagot stitches, and the other, *merezhka zatiahanka* featuring Algerian eyelets and eyelets made with buttonhole stitches (1958, pp. 45-48)[14].

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[13] See sections 5.3.13 and 5.3.14 for descriptions of other types of cutwork

5.3.28 Fish Scale Embroidery

Fish scale embroidery was awarded a prize at the 1896 Medicine Hat fair. Caulfeild and Saward recommended to soak the scales of freshly caught fish, till they were soft and pliable, and then pierce two holes in each of them, so that they could be sewn onto a fabric. The scales could be painted if color was desirable. Fish scales were used to give a textured effect in motifs such as flower petals, butterfly wings or to suggest feathers on birds. Chenille, braid and gold thread were often used with fish scale embroidery (Caulfieild & Saward, 1882, pp. 207-208; Morris, 1962, p. 162).

5.3.29 Etching Embroidery

Etching embroidery was awarded a prize at the 1901 Regina fair. The embroidery tried to imitate engravings by stitching fine black thread on white or cream colored satin. Sometimes the fabric was painted with a thin grey or black wash to avoid too much stitching in the darker areas. Etching was a revival of **printwork**, which was popular in the early nineteenth century. A display of embroideries by the Swiss F.V. Tanner at the Exhibition of 1851 revived general interest in the technique (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, pp. 199-201; Morris, 1962, p. 165; Bath, 1979, p. 231).

5.3.30 Seedwork

A prize for **seedwork** was awarded at the Lethbridge 1913 fair. Seeds of pumpkins, melons, squash, hollihocks, hemlock, and cucumbers were used to give texture to embroidery. The seeds were often used in combination with other textured material such as chenille (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p.441; Clabburn, 1976, p. 166). Seeds were also used in fringes, tassels, bracelets, necklets, in combination with beads, or instead of beads (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 443; *Every Woman's Encyclopedia*, 1910, Vol. III, p.

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[14] See section 5.3.3 for descriptions of drawn work and pulled work

2206, and Vol. IV, pp. 2444-45).

5.3.31 Gold Embroidery

Gold embroidery was on the Lethbridge prize lists in the early years of the 1900s. The term referred to all types of embroidery with gold and other yellow metallic thread. It was often worked for ecclesiastical or heraldic purposes. **Bullion embroidery**, for which a prize was awarded at the 1895 Regina fair, was a special type of gold embroidery. The gold thread used, the bullion, was really a tight spiral, easily drawn out of shape. Caulfeild and Saward instructed the embroiderer to cut the bullion in pieces of the required length,to pick them up and to put them in place with a beading needle, rather than handle the bullion with the fingers. The bullion was couched on the fabric with a thick yellow silk thread. If the motif was raised, the bullion could be slightly stretched to cover the padding smoothly. Bullion was available in several finishes: one was smooth, a second had a rough finish, and a third had a checkered surface, which gave an especially bright effect to the work (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 155).

5.3.32 Tinsel Work

Another embroidery with a metallic thread was **tinsel work**. A white metallic thread was used. Tinsel work appears only once (Edmonton, 1886).

5.3.33 Smocking

Smocking appears only on the 1913 prizewinners' list of Medicine Hat. This embroidery controls the fullness of a fabric decorating it at the same time. It is general knowledge that smocking was part of the traditional costume of the English farmer. It appears also on the women's blouses of Hungarian costume (de Dillmont, 1886, p. 137).

5.3.34 Mexican Needle Work

A prize was awarded for **Mexican needle work** in Medicine Hat in 1891. Two different descriptions were found under the name Mexican work. Caulfeild and Saward described a type of appliqué under that name (1882, p. 345), while the instructions and illustrations of de Dillmont indicate a complicated type of drawn threadwork (1886, pp.

552-556)[15].

5.3.35 Other Techniques, Unknown

Swedish embroidery appears on the 1911 winners' list of Saskatoon. The researcher has not been able to determine which technique or what type of embroidery was given that name. Other obscure terms are **block stitch** (Lethbridge, 1914), **drop stitch** (Medicine Hat, 1904), and **repoussé with embroidery**.

5.3.36 Summary

As shown on table 5.4 embroidery was featured in all selected fairs. The highest number of embroidery categories were found in Regina (19%), followed by Calgary (17%), Medicine Hat (15%), Edmonton (14%) and Saskatoon (10%). Before 1887 the average number of embroidery categories per fair was between two and four. From 1888 to 1906 the annual number of categories fluctuated between five and 24 in Calgary, Medicine Hat and Regina, but between two and seven in other fairs (Edmonton, Battleford, Prince Albert and Saskatoon). The year 1885 was exceptional: there were 32 embroidery categories at three fairs, but 32 of them were at the Territorial Fair in Regina. From 1907 on, the average number of categories per annual fair continued to fluctuate, but increased especially in Edmonton, Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon. More than 10% of all embroidery categories in this survey were featured in 1915.

More than 70% (1507) of all 2136 embroidery categories in this survey did not indicate a specific item produced. Of the 629 categories which indicated an item, there were 80 centerpieces, 68 sofa cushions, 67 teacloths, 50 tray cloths, 31 shirtwaists, 29 pairs of slippers, and 29 sideboard scarves, 26 pillow shams, 23 pincushions, 21 tea coseys, 20 sets of table linen and nine napkins, 18 doilies, 17 picture frames, 15 collars, 13 handkerchiefs, eleven sets of lingerie, and eight pillowslips. There was also a large variety of items which were featured less often: child's dresses, aprons, nightgowns, shawls, handbags, bedspreads, laundry bags, workbags, yokes, lambrequins, table mats, toilet sets, a motto, a foot stool, a coat, a chair cover and an ottoman.

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[15] For other descriptions of appliqué see also section 5.3.3.

Table 5.4: Number of embroidery categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1879	02										002
1882	04										004
1883	05										005
1884	05					04					009
1885	03					06			01		010
1886	04	06				06			01		017
1887	05	04		01		04	02	05	01		022
1888	07	14				06	02	05	02		036
1889	02	08		09		05	02	03	01		030
1890	04	10		12		05	01	03	01		036
1891	02	11		14		05		03	--		035
1892	04	07		12	01	17	02	01			044
1893	06			10		24			02	--	042
1894	04			11	03	07	--	02		01	028
1895	03					32				01	036
1896				10			--		01	01	012
1897			01	15				02		01	019
1898			02	15					01		018
1899			04	22		11	01		02		040
1900		03	03	13		11	01	02	02	01	036
1901	09	10	04	14		14		01	01	09	062
1902	07	14	05	12		08	01	02	01	10	060
1903	12	03	03	08		03	02	06	01	04	042
1904	12	11	05	14	05	11	02	02	07	08	077
1905	15	01	07	14	05	09	02	06		05	064
1906	12	05	07	10	05	06	04	02	03	06	060
1907	10	09	05	20	11	07	02		12	04	080
1908		46	07	21	10	13	14	06		05	122
1909		38	14	10	09			15		08	094
1910		39	11	12		12	17				091
1911		12	14			39	39	02		05	111
1912	37	44	39		12	34	36			07	209
1913	38	--	05	33	13	40		12		07	148
1914	44	40	16	19	12	29	34			18	212
1915	49	39	--		12	39	51	10		22	222
Total	305	374	152	331	98	407	215	90	40	123	2135

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
MH = Medicine Hat
RD = Red Deer
PA = Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
- = no embroidery
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

Table 5.5: Number of hairwork categories at selected fairs

Year	Edmonton	Regina
1882	1	
1883	1	
1894	1	
1895		1
1899		1

Note: only these two fairs featured hairwork.
blank space = no fair held, or data unavailable

5.4 Hairwork

Ogilvie defines **hairwork** as "fancywork, working hair into ornaments such as bracelets, lockets and pictures" (1898, Vol. IV, p. 453). Caulfeild and Saward describe hairwork as a fine knitwork, in which hair is twisted around a silver or linen thread, or as a knotting or plaiting with hair. They state that most of this sort of work was found in brooches (1882, p. 248). Marjory Henderson and Elizabeth Wilkinson suggest that the popularity of this work in the 19th century was connected with the cult of mourning and Queen Victoria's long and "demonstrative bereavement" (1977, p. 149). While Caulfeild and Saward stated that hairwork was only found in England at the the time of writing, J.K. Richards mentions it being occasionally made as private keepsakes in Alberta (Caulfield & Saward 1882, p. 248 and J.K Richards (Green (Ed.)), 1967, p. 198).

Hairwork with the hair of a relative or friend was usually undertaken for its sentimental value, and involved small personal objects such as lockets, brooches, with pictures formed with human hair, or bracelets and watch chains, in which the hair was plaited (Green, 1983, p. 170).

Only five hairwork categories (or 0.1% of all categories) were tabulated. As shown in table 5.5 it was featured prior to 1900 in Edmonton and Regina only.

Table 5.6: Number of homemade flower categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Re	Ba
1879	2			
1889	-	-	1	-
1891	-	-	2	
1892	1	-	-	-
1906	-	1	-	-
1907	-	1	-	
1913	-		-	1
1915	-	-	-	1

Note: only the following fairs featured homemade flowers:
Ed = Edmonton
Re = Regina
Ca = Calgary
Ba = The Battlefords.
-- = no homemade flowers featured.
blank space = no fair or data unavailable.

5.5 Homemade Flowers

Homemade flowers are not defined by Webster or Ogilvie, but Caulfeild and Saward state that there were several ways to make flowers from yarn. Wool could be wound around wire or wood, to make flower shapes, or the flowers could be made from loops of yarn, cut and combed out, with a little gum applied to prevent the fibers from slipping out (1882, p. 86). Woolwork flowers were made into bouquets, to be put on a stand under a glass dome (Clabburn, 1976, p. 285), and to decorate tablemats and centerpieces (Morris, 1962, p. 159). Not only wool flowers appeared on the prize lists, but also flowers of cloth, paper and wax.

Homemade flowers account for only 1.7% (10) of all categories. As shown by table 5.6 homemade flowers from yarn or fabric were only occasionally featured, and only in Edmonton, Regina, Calgary and in the Battlefords.

5.6 Knitting

Knitting in Webster's third definition is defined as forming a "fabric or garment by interlacing of yarn or yarns into series of connected loops by hand or machine and needles" (1976, p. 1240). Emery defines knitting in its simplest form as "consisting of successive rows of running open loops, each loop engaging the corresponding one in the previous row and being in turn engaged by the corresponding one in the following row. The alignment of the loops and the interconnection is vertical" (1980, p. 40).

De Dillmont stated that knitting was mainly used for the production of stockings (1886, p. 42). A large number of categories for knitted socks and stockings was featured in the prize lists, respectively 228 and 197, which was surpassed by the number of mitts (286). Each agricultural fair in this study featured at least one, if not more, category of knitted stockings. Among the 922 knitting categories were also ten categories stating a choice between socks and stockings. In Prince Albert and Edmonton a distinction was made between stockings of homespun and of commercially made yarn.

These findings confirm the impression gained by reading the journals, letters and memoires of pioneer wives. Most of them mention their families' need for warm hand- and footwear for the winter, and the desirability of having them produced at home. Home production prevented the spending of cash, which the family either did not have or had earmarked for a major purchase such as land or farm equipment (Fairbanks & Sundberg, 1983, p. 81., Jackel (Ed.), 1982, p. 223; Sykes, 1910, p. 8). Homespun wool had the additional advantages of softness, warmth, and if treated properly water repellency (Lambert, 1979).

Homespun socks (179) and stockings (159) remained on the prize lists well into the first decade of the 20th century. Categories for silk and cotton stockings appeared shortly after the turn of he century. There were also categories for ribbed stockings, men's, women's, and children's stockings. There were 217 mittens tabulated, in categories for men, women, children, plain and fancy, and occasionally of silk. The term "woolen cuffs" were featured 14 times, especially in the 1880s. This term could refer to mittens as well, since it was traditionally used in Nova Scotia for mittens (Pocius, 1976, p. 23).

Terms referring to knitting in general were also numerous, the phrase "fancy knitting" appearing most often. This could refer to knitting with several colored strands, or with lace stitches. Other general terms referred to the type of fiber used: "knitting in wool", "-in cotton", "-in silk", and once "-in wool, and cotton and silk" (Edmonton, 1912).

Not all stockings were hand made. Lovisa MacDougall wrote as early as 1880 to her mother that she had met a Mrs. Henderson in Edmonton who had a knitting machine, and that she had given Mrs. Henderson some yarn to make her (Lovisa) a pair of stockings (McCrum (Ed.), 1978, p. 54). In the descriptions of the industrial exhibits of the fair in Calgary the work of the knitting machines of a Mrs. Leishman (1890) and Mrs. Shaw (1894) were mentioned (*The Calgary Herald*, October 15, 1890 and July 14, 1894).

Other knitted items such as gloves and counterpanes (or quilts or comforters) were featured respectively 39 and 53 times in all selected communities from the 1880s on. Baby booties, infant vests and sweaters appear on the lists around the turn of the century. Knitted underwear was featured in some communities, mainly in the 1890's. Knitted doilies and tablemats appeared sporadically on the lists. The knitted bathtowel, which was awarded a prize in Saskatoon (1896), is unique.

Of the 922 knitting categories in this survey, 164 did not indicate a specific item. Apart from the items already mentioned in this discussion there were knitted shawls, slippers, baby bonnets, baby jackets, sweaters, jackets, afghans, tablemats, skirts, and insertions for traycloths, teacloths and tablecovers.

As shown in table 5.7 knitting was featured most often in Regina (almost 20%), followed by Calgary (15%), Edmonton (13%) and Saskatoon (10%). Knitting with homespun yarn was only featured in Edmonton and Prince Albert. If knitting homespun is taken into consideration (see table 5.8), Regina remains foremost in knitting categories (18%), but Calgary ranks third (14%) after Edmonton (15%). Prince Albert is in fourth place with 10% of all knitting categories. Red Deer and Lethbridge had the least number of knitting categories, 5% each.

Before 1897 the average number of knitting categories per annual fair fluctuated between two in 1883, and eight in 1886 and 1888. This included knitted homespun categories. Between 1897 and 1908 the average number of knitting categories decreased, while continuing to fluctuate. From 1908 till 1915 the average number of

Table 5.7: Number of knitting categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1882	04										04
1883	03										03
1884	04					08			3		15
1885	08					10			4		22
1886	04	05				09	2		6		26
1887	05	05		2		08	2	3	3		28
1888	07	07				10	7	3	5		39
1889	05	10		4		07	5	3	5		39
1890	06	07		4		11	5	3	5		41
1891	04	06		4		09		3	-		26
1892	04	05		3	01	08	4	3			28
1893	06	--		5		08			7	4	30
1894	06			4	04	06	5	3		-	28
1895	07					05				2	14
1896				5			6		8	2	21
1897			04	5				3		3	15
1898			03	5					3		11
1899			03	5		04	6		4		22
1900		01	02	2		04		3	1	4	17
1901	03	04	02	5		01	-	3	4	8	30
1902	02	03	--	6		--	5	2	4	7	29
1903	02	--	01	2		01	8	4	-	3	21
1904	03	03	01	3	2	07	8	2	1	4	34
1905	01		02	3	7	05	3	2	-	1	24
1906	--	01	02	3	3	05	2	3	3	3	25
1907	01	03	02	4	1	06	1		6	3	27
1908		06	02	1	4	04	5			3	25
1909		14	03	1	2			3		6	29
1910		14	03	-		06	3				26
1911		12	02			08	9	1		7	39
1912	05	12	12		04	07	1			7	48
1913	09		04	9	06	08		6		3	45
1914	11	11	--	7	04	11	1			3	48
1915	08	09			06	09	7	3			43
Total	118	138	48	92	44	185	95	56	72	74	922

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
Le = Lethbridge
MH= Medicine Hat
Ca = Calgary
RD = Red Deer
PA= Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba= the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
--= no knitting
blank space = no fair, or data unavailable

Table 5.8: Number of categories of knitted homespun at selected fairs

Year	Edmonton	P. Albert
1885	-	1
1886	4	2
1887	2	4
1888	5	4
1889	3	4
1890	2	
1891	2	-
1892	4	
1893	3	3
1894	3	
1895	2	
1903		3
1907	-	1

-- = knitted homespun not featured
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

knitting categories increased slightly.

In 1914 knitting was boosted by the general effort of the women in Alberta and Saskatchewan to supply the Red Cross with socks, mitts, gloves, etc. (Fallis, 1985, pp. 8-10). *The Regina Leader* ,for instance, published instructions for Red Cross knitting on August 5, 1915. The Edmonton fair of that year featured a special category for Red Cross knitting, which received 52 entries (*The Edmonton Journal*, August 12, 1915).

As mentioned in the last paragraph of the discussion on crochet, several first prizes were awarded at four fairs from 1902 on, for categories stating a choice between crochet and knitting (e.g., 'jacket, knit or crochet').

5.7 Lace Making

Webster's second definition for lace is "an openwork fabric with a ground of mesh or net on which a pattern may be worked at the same time as the ground, or applied later, and which is made of thread by looping, twisting, or knotting, either by hand with a needle or bobbins or by machinery" (1976, p 1260). Except for the allowance for the machinery, this definition reflects the traditional opinion of lace experts such as Mrs. Palliser (1910), A.M. Sharp (1899), E. Lefebure (1924), and A. von Henneberg (1931).

Webster also adds: "similar fabric made by crochet, tatting, darning, embroidery, weaving, or knitting" (ibid.). This addition reflects the opinion of the general public on lace. One can not take for granted that the term lace in the prize lists meant that the entries were needle and bobbin made laces.

The researcher found few references to lace making in the writings by pioneer women. Therese Gowanlock stated that she spent the winter of 1884/5 making yards of lace trim, which was later confiscated by her hostess when she was taken prisoner during the Riel Rebellion (Zaremba (Ed.), 1974, p. 73). Later in her story Gowanlock mentioned the use of her crochet hook when making lace (ibid., p. 84), so that the lace was problably a lacy crochet trim. In 1907 *The Red Deer Advocate* wrote that there was a "fad among women to crochet their own laces for underwear trimming" (July, 12).

Even traditional lace terms on the prize lists have to be approached with care. The term **Honiton**, for instance, refers traditionally to a bobbin lace of English origin. On the prize lists the researcher found the terms "Honiton or point lace", "Honiton needle lace" and "ideal Honiton". The term **point** is traditionally reserved for something stitched, a needle lace or an embroidery. In the late 19th century lace terms were generally confusing, because point lace could refer to a fine bobbin lace (Jackson, 1900, p. 118), laces featuring brides or bars, or a tape lace (Earnshaw, 1980, p. 22).

The making of **tape lace** was a most popular pastime in the period under study. In this type of needle lace, the outlines of the design were formed by tapes, which were traditionally woven or bobbined. This was effectively used in 17th century Northern Italian altarcloths, since the tapes made the design stand out boldly, clearly visible at a distance (Bath, 1974, p. 77; Earnshaw, 1980, p. 46; Palliser, 1910, p. 50). In the 19th century garments and household decorations were made of tape lace. Several types of tapes were available, each touted to produce a distinctive type of lace. In the early 1900s there was a duchesse tape for the production of duchesse lace (*Corticelli Home Needlework*, January, 1907, p. 40), Cluny tape for Cluny lace (ibid., pp. 69 -73), princess tape for princess lace (ibid., p. 52), Honiton braid and ideal Honiton braid for Honiton lace and ideal Honiton lace (Butterick Publishing Co., 1901, p. 69; Bath, 1974, p. 296). It is highly likely that the terms "Duchesse lace", "Cluny lace", and "Honiton lace" on the prize lists were tape laces.

The term most frequently found on the prizewinners' lists was **Battenberg lace**. There were categories for Battenberg tablecloths, centerpieces, doilies, handkerchiefs, tea cozies, and collars. This was a tape lace, developed by a Canadian woman, Sara Hadley. She insisted that Battenberg was different from other tape laces in that Battenberg had buttonholed brides with picots, while other laces had brides of merely twisted threads, and that Battenberg featured spider needle fillings (*Corticelli Home Needlework* 1899, Vol. 4, pp. 321-23).

Teneriffe or **Brazilian point** appeared on the prize lists from the late 1890s on. This is a type of needlelace, which has its roots in Spanish drawn thread work. The motifs of Teneriffe are made with the aid of its own frame.

Torchon appears on the 1912 Saskatoon winners' list. This is a simple bobbin lace, with which beginning lacemakers usually start. It is probable that the phrase "Torchon" on the winners' lists represents a real bobbin lace. The term *knypling* appeared once, on the 1911 winners' list of Calgary. This is the Danish term for bobbin lace in general. It is highly probable that this phrase refers to bobbin lace.

Maltese lace referred traditionally to a silk bobbin lace originally from Malta. The phrase appears on the prize lists from 1912 on. By that time popular needlecraft magazines refer to hairpin crochet as Maltese lace (*Modern Priscilla*, 1916, February, p. 9).

The term **Irish** lace can refer to a number of lace techniques, since Ireland is rich in lace traditions. Foremost is **Irish crochet**, already discussed under crochet. The term can also refer to **Youghal point**, an adaptation of 18th century Venetian needle lace, or **Limmerick lace**, a delicately embroidered net, or **Carrickmacross**, a technique that combined cutwork with appliqué on net. The last term also appears on the 1910 Regina prizewinners' list.

As indicated by table 5.9 needle and bobbin lace was featured most often in Calgary (almost 20 % of all needle and bobbin lace categories), followed by Regina (17%), Medicine Hat (15%), and Saskatoon (12%). It is the least featured in Prince Albert (1.5%) and the Battlefords(4%). Calgary featured lace making categories since 1886, Medicine Hat since 1890, and Regina from 1893 on.

Table 5.9: Number of needle or bobbin lace categories at selected fairs

year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1886	-	01		-		-	-		-		01
1888	-	02		-		-	-		-		02
1889	-	02		-		-	-		-		02
1890	-	02		2		-	-		-		04
1891	-	02		-		-			-		02
1892	-	01		-		-	-				01
1893	-			1		1			-	-	02
1894	-			1	-	1	-	-		-	02
1895	-			-		1				-	01
1896				2					--	-	02
1897			-	2				-		-	02
1898			-	4					1		05
1899			-	4		1					05
1900		--	-	2		3	-		-	-	05
1901	-	--	1	4		4			1	-	10
1902	-	02	2	4		4	1		-	1	14
1903	3	--	2	4		5	2	1	-	1	18
1904	3	06	4	4	1	2	-	1	1	1	23
1905	2		3	4	1	3	2	1	-	-	16
1906	2	11	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	27
1907	2	04	1	2	3	-	2			-	14
1908		05	2	4	3	3	3	1		3	24
1909		06	3	1	3			1		3	17
1910		05	3	-		2	3				13
1911		04	2	-		5	4			3	18
1912	5	04	3	-	2	5	9			3	31
1913	-		4	2	4	6		4		2	22
1914	7	05	-	1	3	6	4			3	29
1915	3	05	-		2	6	7	3		2	28
Total	27	67	32	51	23	59	40	13	05	23	340

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
MH = Medicine Hat
Sa = Saskatoon
Yo = Yorkton
Ca = Calgary
RD = Red Deer
Re = Regina
T = Total
Le = Lethbridge
PA = Prince Albert
Ba =the Battlefords
-- = needle or bobbin lace not featured
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

Table 5.10: Number of general lace categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1882	1									01
1884	1				-					01
1885	1				-					01
1886	1	-			-					01
1887	1	-		-	-	-	-			01
1888	1	-			-	-	-			01
1889	1	-		-	-	1	-			02
1890	1	-		-	-	-	-			01
1892	1	-		-	-	-				01
1893	2			-	-			-	-	02
1894	1			-	1	-			-	02
1895	1			-	2				-	03
1896				1		-		-	-	01
1898			-	2				2		04
1899			-	2	-	-				02
1900		-	-	2	-	-	-		-	02
1901	-	4	-	2	1		-		-	07
1902	-	2	-	2	-	-	-		-	04
1903	-	3	-	1	-	-	1		-	05
1904	-	1	-	2	-	-	-		-	03
1905	-	-	1	2	1	-	-		-	04
1906	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		1	02
1907	-	2	-	3	-	2		1	-	08
1908		1	-	3	-	3	-		1	08
1909		2	-	2			-		1	05
1910		2	-	2	-	4				08
1911		-	1		5	5	-		-	11
1912	3	2	1		3	5			1	15
1913	2		1	3	5		-		1	12
1914	4	1	-	3	5	2			1	15
1915	3	4			4	4	-		-	16
Total	25	25	4	32	27	26	1	3	6	149

Note:
Ed = Edmonton Le = Lethbridge MH = Medicine Hat
Ca = Calgary Re = Regina PA = Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon Yo = Yorkton Ba = the Battlefords
T = Total - = no lace
blank space = no fair held, or data unavailable

As indicated by table 5.10, Medicine Hat featured the most categories of lace in general (22%), followed by Saskatoon (18%), Edmonton, Regina, and Calgary (17% each). If the two lace categories (needle and bobbin lace and lace in general) are combined the foremost community fair featuring lace is Medicine Hat (17%), followed by Regina (16%), Calgary (14%) and Saskatoon (almost 14%).

Needle and bobbin laces and laces in general combined account for 5.5% of all categories in this survey (needle and bobbin lace for 4.5% and general lace for 1%). Before 1897 very few first prizes were awarded for lace making. In 1879, 1883 and 1887 there were no prizes, and in other years before 1897 only one first prize per annual fair. 1889 was a peak year for lace making because there were nine first prizes awarded for both types of lace at only three fairs. From 1899 on, the average number of categories gradually increased from little more than one category per annual fair in 1906, to six in 1915. Until 1897 there were more needle and bobbin lace categories than general lace categories. From 1898 on, the general laces were more numerous.

Of the 430 needle and bobbin lace categories only 39 indicated a specific item. Of the 149 general lace categories only 70 indicated a specific item. There were 41 centerpieces, 26 made by general lace techniques, and fifteen by needle or bobbin lace techniques. Seventeen doilies received first prizes, of which only one was made of needle or bobbin lace. Ten handkerchiefs and ten teacloths were featured, five needle and bobbin lace and five general lace each. There were five sofa cushions of general lace techniques, and an occasional bedspread, baby bonnet, parasol, pin cushion and table mat.

5.8 Laundry

Webster defines laundry as "to wash and to iron clothes and household linen" (1976, p. 1278). Terms on the prize winners' lists reflect the inclusion of ironing and starching as in "best starched shirt" (North Battleford, 1909). Collars and cuffs were most often mentioned in the laundry categories. This is not surprising considering that it was general practice at that time to change collars and cuffs more often than shirts (Green, 1983, p. 74). Occasionally a laundered and starched shirt was featured.

Although not at present recognized as a textile craft, laundry on the prairies in the period under discussion involved skill and ingenuity, as well as hard work. One of the more difficult aspects of this work was the absence of a good supply of water. As late as 1931 less than 3% of all farms on the prairies had running water (Britnell, 1939, p. 171). In absence of a well or pump, the wash was brought to a nearby slough (Hiemstra, 1961, p. 126; Hopkins, 1981, p. 14; Hewitt, 1970, p. 48; Hallevel and Persson, 1967, p. 33). A windy day was preferred so that the mosquitoes would not bother the washers.

Without the mosquitoes there were still tadpoles and debris to contend with. Sometimes the linen remained dark, and never became "as white as back home" (Hiemstra, 1961, p.126). Water from a well or pump saved carrying the linen and clothing to and from the slough, but the water was usually hard and alkaline, and the results of washing in pumped up water was often no better than washing in slough water. In the winter melted snow was often the only steady water supply.

Washing was often done in large basins, with washboards, or paddles, although washing machines were available from the 1890s on (Acton et al. (Ed.), 1974, p. 79). Early washing machines on the prairies were usually hand operated affairs, because most rural houses had no electricity. Brittnell stated that the manually operated washing machine was often the only labor saving device found in farmhouses on the prairies (1939, p. 177). Sykes describes how as a household help she assisted in washing a prairie family's clothes. She was instructed to work the machine for ten minutes, to put the clothes through the wringer, then into a boiler on the stove, to rinse them in cold water, to wring them again, to put them in a blueing solution, and to wring them for a third time before hanging them out on the line. Sykes assured the reader that the result was a snowy white wash. Overalls, shirts and the really dirty clothes had to be "rocked" in the machine twice (1910, p. 120).

The more descriptive passages on laundry problems are from upper middle class women, whose education included creative writing rather than laundry. These women had never done the laundry before coming to Western Canada. In Eastern Canada as well as in England, everyone who could afford it sent the laundry out of the house to be handled by specialists (Leslie, 1975, p. 79; Head, 1977, p. 16; Green, 1983, p. 72). Although the general opinion was that "any fool can do the laundry" (Hopkins, 1981, p. 14), any woman who could afford it, arranged that her family's laundry was done by someone else, either a woman who came to the house regularly, or it was sent out (Genevieve Leslie (Acton et al.

Table 5.11: Number of laundry categories at selected fairs

Year	Le	Re	Ba
1900	1	-	-
1901	1	-	-
1906	1	-	-
1908	1	1	
1909	-	-	1
1910	-	1	-
1913	-	-	1

Note: only the following fairs featured laundry:
Le = Lethbridge
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
-- = no laundry featured.

(Ed.)), 1975, p. 82; McCrum (Ed.), 1976, pp. 27 and 31; Mrs. Chas. Inderwick, Glenbow-Alberta Archives, M559). Mrs. Llewthwaite advised immigrant women from England to use the services of Chinese laundries in the prairie towns along the railways. She thought that they did "beautiful things", although she admitted that they were highly priced (Jackel (Ed.), 1982, p. 119).

Drying was another problem, especially in the winter. Outside the cloth froze stiff, rendering it liable to break when handled. Inside the house it would hang for days, either frozen stiff in the unheated rooms, or smelling unpleasantly in heated rooms (Hewitt, 1970, p. 42).

Some of the husbands of the ladies who wrote most eloquently about their laundry problems (e.g., Monica Hopkins), wore flannel shirts, eliminating the need for starched fronts and polished cuffs and collars. An essay contest on the art of starching collars was held by *The Regina Leader*. The first prize went to the essay accompanied the best starched collar. Prizewinning essays described the two methods of starching, a cold water method, which was less sticky and easier on the hands, and a hot water method, which increased the stiffening effect of the starch. They also describe how irons with a convex surface were the most effective in polishing starched goods to a high gloss. An ordinary flat iron was considered good enough for everyday use. The trick was to heat the iron evenly in front of an open fire, without getting the ironing surface smoked or charred, and to have the iron hot enough to stiffen the collar, but not so hot that it would scorch it (*The Regina Leader*, November 1, 1889).

As shown in table 5.12 only six laundry categories were tabulated in this survey, less than .1% of all categories. Categories for this craft were featured on the winners' lists between 1900 and 1913. Most of all first prizes were awarded in Lethbridge (50%), between 1900 and 1908. Regina and North Battleford awarded prizes for laundry from 1908 till 1913.

5.9 Macramé

Ogilvie defines **macramé** as "an ornamental fringe made by interlacing or knotting twine in geometric patterns" (1898, Vol. VI, p. 802). Emery does not define macramé but notes the consistency in the use of the term referring to knotted fringe (1983, pp. 65 and 70). Although macramé was often used to trim furniture covers, such as valances and tablecovers, it was also worked in fine yarns for insertion of ladies' garments (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 331). Warren stated that fine silk was used, (1976, p. 48) and *Every Woman's Encyclopedia* suggested the use of several colors (1910, Vol. II, p. 1006).

Macramé appeared on the prize lists also as "McRamie work" (Carnduff, 1889), and as"Macrame or Twine work" (Regina 1884). It was most often featured in Regina (35% of the total number of categories). As shown in table 5.12, macramé accounted for 4% of all categories. Few first prizes were awarded for macramé prior to 1895. That year was a peak year, when two first prizes were awarded at three fairs. From 1895 on, first prizes were awarded occasionally, most of them in Regina (between 1887 and 1895), the Battlefords (between 1887 and 1870), and Medicine Hat (between 1889 and 1900). Edmonton, Calgary and Prince Albert awarded prizes occasionally for macramé.

5.10 Mending

Webster defined mending as "the process of repairing, or putting in good shape again, or patching up" (1976, p. 1410). Therese de Dillmont recognized two types of mending: patching and darning. She defines patching as "accurately fitting a piece of material into a hole in a fabric", and darning as "replacing weakened threads by new threads, taking care that the interlacing of the weakened material is produced as faithfully

Table 5.12: Number of macramé categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	Re	Ba	T
1884	--				1		1
1885	--				1		1
1887	-	1		-	-	1	2
1888	-	1			1	1	3
1889	-	-		1	1	1	3
1890	-	-		1	1	1	3
1891	-	-		-	1	1	2
1892	-	-		1	1	-	2
1893	-			1	1		2
1894	-			1	1	1	3
1895	-				2		2
1897			-	1		1	2
1900		-	-	1	-	1	2
1909		-	-	-	-	1	1
1913	-		1	-	-	-	1
1915	1	1			-	-	2
T	1	3	1	7	11	9	32

Note: macramé was featured at only the following fairs:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
Mh = Medicine Hat
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
T = Total
-- = macramé not featured
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

as possible" (1886, p. 33).

As shown by table 5.13 mending was most often featured in Calgary, where 21% of the total number of mending categories (108), were tablulated. This is followed by Regina (16%), Medicine Hat (14%), and Edmonton (9%). It was not featured in Yorkton and the Battlefords. Mending categories account for only 1.5% of all categories in this survey. Before 1900 very few fairs featured a mending category on a regular basis, and then only for darned socks or stockings. From 1900 on, the average number of mending categories increased to two categories per annual fair in 1915 (15 categories in seven fairs), and included darned table linen and the occasional patched garment. Of the 108 mending categories 83 indicated a specific item. There were 27 darned socks, 27 choices between darned socks and stockings, ten darned stockings, five mended pieces of table linen and an occasional "best patched garment".

5.11 Netting

Netting is defined by Webster as "making a fabric structure of threads or cords, that cross each other at regular intervals and are knotted and secured at the crossings" (1976, p. 1520). Emery has essentially the same definition (1980, p. 46).

De Dillmont divides netting into two distinct categories: **plain filet** or the construction of a square meshed net, and filet lace, which is the embroidered net (1886, p. 457)[14]. *Weldon's Practical Shilling Guide* states that netted curtains were quite common place until inexpensive machine lace curtains were marketed (n.d., p. 82). Finely netted curtains were found by Helen Lamprecht among the surviving textiles of the Mormon Colony in Utah, dating between 1844 and 1900 (197[illegible] pp. 122-124). *Weldon's Practical Shilling Guide* also states that at the time of writing, which was probably before 1900, netting was not as often used for curtains, but rather for the trimming of damask doilies, wholly netted doilies, collar and cuff sets, shawls, and handkerchiefs (n.d., p. 82).

The terms "netting" and "network" were the most often used. Occasionally the term "filet" was used (Edmonton, 1912), as distinct from filet guipure, which was an embroidered net (see 5.3.7). The Lethbridge list of 1899 featured the term "fancy

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[14] For a description of embroidered net see section 5.3.7.

Table 5.13: Number of mending categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	T
1884	-				2			-	02
1886	1	1			-	-		-	02
1887	1	1		-	-	-	-	-	02
1888	1	-			-	-	-	-	01
1889	1	-		-	-	-	-	-	01
1890	1	-		-	-	1	-	-	02
1891	1	-		-	-	-	-	-	01
1893	-	-		-	1			1	02
1894	1				1				01
1895	1				3				04
1896				-		-	-	1	01
1898			-	1				-	01
1899			-	1	1	-		1	03
1900		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
1901	-	1	-	1	-		-	1	03
1902	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	03
1903	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	03
1904	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	04
1905	1		1	1	-	2	-	-	05
1906	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	02
1907	1	-	1	1	-	-		1	04
1908		1	1	1	2	1	-		06
1909		2	1	1			-		04
1910		3	1	1	1	1			07
1911		2	1		1	1	-		05
1912	2	3	1		1	1			08
1913	1		2	1	-		2		06
1914	2	2	-	1	2	-			07
1915	5	4	-		2	2	2		15
Total	23	21	10	14	16	11	4	7	106

Note: mending was only featured at the following fairs:

Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
MH = Medicine Hat
Re = Regina
Sa = Saskatoon
Ba = the Battlefords
PA = Prince Albert
T = Total
-- = mending not featured
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

Table 5.14: Number of netting categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1886	-	1	-			-	-				1
1895	-		-			1	-			-	1
1898			-	1					-		1
1899			1	1		1	1		-		4
1900		-	-	-		1	-	-		-	1
1901	-	-	1	1		1	-	-		-	3
1902	-	-	-	1		2	-	-	1	1	5
1903	1	-	-	2		-	-	1	1	-	5
1904	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	1		-	7
1905	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1		-	4
1906	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
1907	1	1	-	1	1	-			1	-	5
1908		-	-	1	1	2	-	1		1	6
1909		1	-	-	1			1		-	3
1910		1	-	-		-					1
1911		-	-			1	1	1		-	3
1912	1	1	1		1	1	2	-		-	7
1913	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1		-	5
1914	1	1	-	1	1	1	3			-	8
1915	-	1			1	1	2	1		-	6
Total	8	9	5	12	7	15	9	9	4	2	80

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
MH = Medicine Hat
RD = Red Deer
Re = Regina
Sa = Saskatoon
PA = Prince Albert
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
- = no netting
blank space = no fair or data unavailable.

netting". This may refer to netting with meshes of various sizes, arranged in simple geometrical patterns, or it may refer to other, unknown, aspects of netting. The term "fishnet doily" (Lethbridge, 1904) may, or may not, mean a plain netted doily. The meaning of the term "Swiss diamond netting" (Medicine Hat, 1904-1905) was not found.

Cotton, linen, twine, and silk were all used for netting (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 356; De Dillmont, 1886, p. 459). De Dillmont adds that several colors could be used in netting with silk (ibid.). This was featured on the winners' list of Medicine Hat (1905).

Netting accounted for 1.4% of all categories in this survey. As shown on table 5.14, Regina featured netting categories most often, almost 19%, followed by Medicine Hat (15%), Calgary, Saskatoon and the Battlefords (11% each). Before 1897 only two first prizes for netting were awarded, one in 1886 (Calgary), and one in 1895 (Regina). From 1898 on, the number of first prizes for netting slowly increased. 1904, 1913, and 1914 were peak years, when seven to eight first prizes were awarded among eight to ten fairs. In 1910 only one prize awarded was for netting. Of the 80 netting categories only eleven stated a specific item, six netted centerpieces and five doilies.

5.12 Painting

Webster defines painting as "to color all or part of a surface by or as if by applying a pigment" (1976, p. 1621). Painting on fabric was a popular pastime for leisured women in the 19th century. Instructions for painting velvet were found in *Godey's Lady's Book* as early as March 1831. In the early instructions velvet was most often mentioned, but later needlecraft manuals such as that of the Metropolitan Art Series and *Home Needlework Magazine* mention lighter fabrics such as scrim and bolting cloth. Early painting instructions recommend cotton velvet, rather than silk velvet, because the cotton pile offered a better surface for painting than the silk pile (*Godey's Lady's Book*, May, 1854, p. 393, in Poscente (1984)). Similarly, painting on velvet, or **moleskin**, another type of pile fabric, appeared in the prizewinners' lists of the 1880s and 1890s, while painting on silk or bolting cloth appeared from the late 1890s on.

The design could be painted on free hand, but instructions included the making of stencils or **formulas**, to guide the not so artistically skilled, as well as to protect the rest of the velvet. The paint was applied on small circular strokes,with a stiff short bristled brush. In case that the velvet around the design became soiled, the instructions were included for spray painting the fabric around the design (ibid., pp. 394-395).

Instructions for painting fabrics in 1895 recommend a light fabric such as scrim or bolting cloth. These lighter fabrics were spread taut over a few layers of blotting paper. A base layer of Chinese white paint was applied first within the outlines of the design. Once the base was dry, the colors were applied with light up and down strokes of the brush (Metropolitan Art Series, 1889, p. 64).

After the turn of the century needlework magazines featured stencilling of fabrics as well as of walls, furniture, etc. The prizewinners' lists of this survey featured stencilled curtains and sofa cushions, also in combination with embroidery. The techniques of

Table 5.15 Number of painting categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1884	-					1			-		1
1885	-					2			-		2
1886	-	-		-		1	-		-		1
1887	1	2		-		-	-	-	-		3
1888	1	2		-		1	-	-	-		4
1889	-	3		2		1	-	-	-		6
1890	-	4		1		-	-	-	-		5
1891	-	4		1		1		-	-		6
1892	3	2		-	-	-	-				5
1893	1			-		-		-	-	-	1
1894	-			1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
1895	-					2				-	2
1902	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	2	2
1903	1	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	1	2
1904	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1905	1		1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
1906	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
1907	1	-	2	-	-	-	-		-	-	3
1908		-	2	-	-	-	-			-	2
1909		3	2	-	-			1		-	6
1911		-	1			-	1			-	2
1913	-		-	-	-	-		1		-	1
1914	1	-	-	-	-	-	5			-	6
1915	1	-			-	-	4	2		-	7
Total	13	20	10	5	1	9	11	4	1	3	77

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
MH = Medicine Hat
RD = Red Deer
PA = Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
- = no painting
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

painting velvet and stencilling fabric are similar, especially if one realizes that most of the painting on velvet was done with the aid of formulas or stencils, rather than by free hand.

Another painting on fabric technique was **spatterwork**. This was done by running a bristly brush dipped in dye or paint along the teeth of a comb. The designs on the fabric were formed by covering the fabric with motifs cut out of stiff paper or cardboard, or with foliage, attractively laid out, leaving the backgound to be spattered (Metropolitan Art Series, 1889, pp. 295-298; Branch, 1927, pp. 53-55).

Penpainting on fabric was featured in Saskatoon, 1914. This technique called for spreading a thick oilpaint, a little at a time, with a pen nib. This produced an effect that was supposed to resemble ribbonwork embroidery. It was apparently very effective for small leaves and petals in floral motifs painted on doilies and tablecenters. The paint took two to six weeks to dry, leaving the paint appearing "hard, dry and shiny" (*Every Woman's Encyclopaedia*, 1910, Vol III, pp. 1230-31).

Painting accounts for 1% of all categories in this survey. As shown by table 5.15, most painting categories were featured in Calgary, followed by Saskatoon, Lethbridge and Regina. Painting categories were regularly featured in Calgary, between 1887 and 1892, and in Lethbridge between 1905 and 1911. Regina featured painting categories between 1884 and 1895. Other communities featured painting categories only occasionally. Before 1884 there were no painting categories in this survey. A few first prizes were awarded between 1884 and 1905. A peak year was 1891 when six first prizes were awarded, but in 1896 and 1905 painting was not featured. From 1902 on, first prizes for painting were occasionally awarded. In some years there were no prizes at all (1910 and 1912), in other years there were six to seven first prizes in total (1909, 1914 and 1915).

5.13 Quilting

Ogilvie defines quilting as "stitching together two pieces of cloth with some soft substance in between" (1898, Vol. VI, p. 597). Caulfeild and Saward are more elaborate. "The term denotes the runnings made in any material three-fold in thickness: an outer and right side, a soft one under it and a lining" (1882, p. 414). Emery defines quilting as "the action of sewing two or more layers of fabric firmly together with lines of stitching, and thus refers to the application or superimposing of one fabric on another" (1980, p. 254). She also notes that the verb to quilt had come to "be specifically associated with the stitching than with any other aspect of the construction. The stitches for quilting always serve the practical purpose of integrating the layers firmly into a fabric complex but may at the same time be decorative" (1980, p. 252).

Caulfeild and Saward stated that quilting was not only used for coverlets, but also for silk slippers, linings for boxes, baskets, hoods, bonnets, and for infant bibs (1882, pp. 414-15). Quilting was also used to make garments, to protect the wearer from cold, in the form of petticoats, (Warren, 1976, p. 44; Bath, 1979, p. 224), or from bodily harm in medieval battles (Bath, ibid.). However, quilting became so intimately associated with bedcovers that the noun quilt is defined by Webster as "a bedcoverlet, made of two layers of cloth of which the top is usually pieced or appliqued, and having as a filling wool, cotton or down, held in place by stitched designs of tufts worked through all thicknesses" (1976, p. 1865).

Also intimately associated with quilting is patchwork. Warren states that patchwork originated in the poorer classes in Great Britain, who could not afford to purchase enough material for a quilted cover in one piece (1976, p. 45). By the 18th century patchwork quilts appeared in middleclass homes (Hughes, n.d., p. 147).

The 19th century saw an increase in quilting in all households, especially in North America, except in the households of the very wealthy (Swain, 1977, p. 210). Swain also states that the earlier quilts in North America featured one-piece tops, in which the fineness and the regularity of the quilting stitches formed the decoration, while patched quilts were usually utility quilts (ibid., pp. 210-211). By 1880 patchwork was an established thrift craft practiced in all middleclass households in the North American continent.

The need for quilts in Western Canada during the cold winters was great, especially in the era predating centrally heated housing. Pocius' informants in Newfoundland state that six to eight quilts were used for each bed in the winter in houses without central heating (1976, p. 33). The amount of quilts needed per bed in the winters on the prairies was probably just as great. When so many quilts were needed, and cloth was scarce, either because it had to transported a long way, which was very expensive, or the family had earmarked its money for farm improvements. Many quilts were produced from the scraps saved in the pioneer wife's ragbag. In this survey the largest number (358) of categories stating a specific item was for quilts.

The terms **patchwork** and **piecework** were indiscriminately used during the 19th and early 20th century. Clabburn distinguishes four types of patchwork. The first type is applied work or appliqué, which the *Modern Priscilla* in 1916 considers to be patchwork. The second type is pieced work or **mosaic work** in which pieces of fabric are joined to form a large piece of fabric. The smaller pieces were usually cut in regularly shaped, simple shapes to form geometric designs. The third type is **logcabin work**, in which "narrow strips of fabric are joined to a background fabric in extending squares". The fourth type is **crazy patchwork** in which irregularly shaped pieces of fabric are joined to a background fabric in no set pattern, covering the background fabric completely (Clabburn, 1976, p. 176).

The term patchwork was most often found on the prize lists of this survey. The term piecework apppeared as early as 1897 in the Lethbridge prizewinners' list ("Quilt, pieced or patchwork"). This context did not indicate whether the difference between appliqué and piecework was perceived as an important distinction. The terms "pieced work" or "pieced quilt" appeared occasionally after 1900 in the prizewinners' lists of the survey, while the term "appliqué" does not appear in connection with quilts. Hughes stated that appliquéd quilts were popular, at least in Britain, in the late 18th and early 19th century (n.d., p. 147). Morris stated that the popularity of appliquéd patchwork in England lasted till the middle of the 19th century (1962, Chapter 3). Caulfeild and Saward, *Weldon's Practical Shilling Guide* and Niles discussed only pieced work in their chapters on patchwork (1882, pp. 379-385; n.d., pp. 74-90; 1885, p. 316).

Other terms on the winners' lists were "crazy quilt" and "crazywork". The term "logcabin" was also frequently mentioned especially before the turn of the century, but not as often as the term crazywork.

Other descriptive terms used in connection with quilts are fibers. Silk was most often mentioned, closely followed by cotton, while wool was mentioned only half as often as silk. Yorkton featured a special category of quilts made of prints (1903). The term "comforter" was used on the 1904 Red Deer winners' list. The distinction between a quilt and a comforter is not clear. The Women's Institutes book on domestic sewing describes a "comfortable" in which the ties of woollen yarn replace the quilting stitches (1923, pp. 192-195).

As indicated by table 5.16 quilting was most often featured in Medicine Hat, which had more than 15% of all quilting categories in this survey. Regina had almost 15%, Edmonton 13%, Calgary and Yorkton each had 12%. Quilting accounted for 5% of all prizewinning categories in this survey. The average number of quilting categories per annual fair fluctuated throughout the period of this study from one to three. Of the 396

Table 5.16: Number of quilting categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1882	1										01
1883	3										03
1884	2					3			-		05
1885	-					3			1		04
1886	1	3				-	1		1		06
1887	1	2		3		1	1	1	1		10
1888	2	3				1	2	1	-		09
1889	1	1		3		2	1	1	-		09
1890	1	2		3		3	1	1	1		12
1891	1	3		4		3		1	-		12
1892	1	3		2	1	4	1	-			12
1893	1			3		4			1	1	10
1894	1			2	2	2	1	-		1	09
1895	1					4				1	06
1896				3			1		3	1	08
1897			2	3				1		1	07
1898			2	3					1	-	06
1899			1	4		-	1		1		07
1900		1	1	3		-	-	1	1	4	11
1901	1	2	1	2		1	-	1	4	4	16
1902	2	2	1	3		3	3	1	3	4	22
1903	4	1	1	3		2	2	1	4	3	21
1904	5	2	-	2	2	3	2		-	3	19
1905	5	--	2	3	-	1	2	1	-	4	18
1906	-	1	1	2	2	-	2	1	-	3	12
1907	3	2	2	3	-	1	2		3	1	17
1908		3	2	1	3	3	2	1		3	18
1909		3	3	-	2			2		3	13
1910		4	3	-		3	3				13
1911		4	3			3	3			3	16
1912	1	2	4		2	3				3	15
1913	2		3	4	4	2	-	3		3	17
1914	5	3	-	2	2	3				1	16
1915	5	2			2	3	2	2		1	17
Total	50	49	32	61	20	59	33	20	25	48	397

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
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MH = Medicine Hat
RD = Red Deer
PA = Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
- = no quilting
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

quilting categories 34 did not indicate a specific item, 358 indicated quilts, three indicated sofa cushions, and one a comforter.

5.14 Rug Making

Webster defines a rug as a "piece of thick fabric, usually with a pile or nap and commonly made of wool used as a floor covering" (1976, p. 2081). The term "ragmat" was most often featured on the winners' lists of this survey. It appeared almost three times as often as the next most used term woolmat". From the terms alone it is not clear whether there is a basic difference between the two phrases. It is possible that the term woolmat was used for mats made out of new woolen yarn only, as opposed to the recycled fabrics in the rag mats. Nor is it clear that the material used for the rag mats did not contain any wool. Dorothy Lawless recommended firmly woven woollen fabrics, which would provide long wear and easy cleaning for hooked ragrugs (1952, p. 19).

Terms indicating the technique used in making the mats and rugs were often, but not always, used in the prizewinners' lists. The term "hooked ragmat" was usually accompanied with a term indicating an item, e.g., "mat, hooked and cut". **Hooking** of mats was usually done by punching or pulling yarn or strips of rags through the interstices of a closely woven fabric. Often this base fabric was a grain or feed bag (Lawless, 1952, p. 9; Moshimer, 1975, p. 1; Pocius, 1980, p. 36). Designs were drawn on this base with chalk, pencil, crayon, but coal or a charred end of a stick could also be used (Pocius, ibid.; Lawless, 1952, p. 10). The base would be stretched tautly in a frame. If wool yarn was used the base fabric was worked with the wrong side up, the yarn being punched through the base with the aid of a hollow-handled punch. In the hollow handle was a device that regulated the size of the loop made. If rag strips were used the base fabric was worked from the right side, the strips being pulled up with a hook on a solid handle (Lawless, 1962, p. 19). Sometimes the rags were dyed beforehand to create a more harmonious colour range (Lawless, 1952, Chapter 12; Pocius, 1976, pp. 42-43).

The term "braided mat" appears in Lethbridge winners' lists from 1912 on. **Braiding** of rugs was also done with rag strips. Lawless recommends to take great care not only in the cleaning and cutting of the strips, but also in the folding, and sewing of the folded edges, so that the braided mat would not feature any ravelled edges. She warns

Table 5.17: Number of rug making categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1882	1										01
1883	1										01
1884	1					2					03
1885	2					2					04
1886	2	1				2	1		2		08
1887	1	1		1		2	1	-	1		07
1888	1	1				2	2	-	2		08
1889	1	1		1		1	2	-	1		07
1890	1	1		1		2	2	-	1		08
1891	2	1		2		2		-			07
1892	2	1		2	1	2	1	-			09
1893	1			2		1			2	2	08
1894	2			1	-	3	1	-		1	08
1895	2			-		2				1	05
1896				1			1		1	1	04
1897				1				-		1	02
1898				1							01
1899				1		2	2		1		06
1900		1	-	1		3	-	-	1	1	07
1901	1	1	-	1		2		-	1	1	07
1902	1	-	-	-		-	1	-	-	-	02
1903	2	-	-	1		1	2	2	1	1	10
1904	1	-	1	1	2	2	2		1	-	10
1905	2		1	1	2	1	1		-	1	09
1906	-	2	1	1	1	-	-		-	1	06
1907	1	2	1	-	1	-	1		2	1	09
1908		-	1	-	3	2	3	-		1	10
1909		3	1	-	1			1		1	07
1910		3	1	-		-	1				05
1911		3	1			1	1	2		-	08
1912	1	1	3		3	-				-	08
1913	1		-	-	3	-		2		1	07
1914	1	-	-	-	2	-				1	04
1915	1	2			1	-	-	01		-	05
Total	32	25	11	20	20	37	25	08	17	16	211

Note:
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RD = Red Deer
PA = Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
- = no rug making
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

that the preparation of the strips can easily take more time than the actual braiding of the rug itself. As the braiding progressed the newly made rows were lashed on the previous row with a strong needle and thread. This secured the shape of the mat (1952, pp. 84-88).

Rug making was most often featured in Regina (17% of all categories in this survey), followed by Edmonton (almost 15%), Calgary and Saskatoon (almost 12% each). In general rug making accounted for 3% of all prizewinning categories in this survey. As shown in table 5.17, the average number of rug making categories before 1896 fluctuated between one and two per annual fair. 1884 was a peak year when there were five rug making categories in two fairs. From 1897 on, the average number was one rug making category per fair, with the exception of 1902, when there were only two categories in nine fairs.

Of the 206 rug making entries two did not indicate a specific item. There were 149 floor mats and 49 rugs or carpets. The prize lists did not indicate whether the six couch rugs were really rugs or were a type of afghan.

5.15 Sewing

Webster defines sewing as "to unite, fasten, and attach by stitches made with flexible thread or filament" (1976, p. 2081). Emery defines it as "the use of accessory stitches for utilitarian purpose: finishing edges and joining two pieced of cloth". She adds that the stitches can also be used to reinforce or repair (1980, p. 233).

Clabburn considers mending as a plain sewing technique but excludes any machine stitching (1976, p. 207). Prizewinners' lists do not always indicate whether a garment was hand sewn or machine stitched. It was therefore decided to consider all sewing under the same heading.

Most of the techniques described as sewing techniques by Caulfeild and Saward and by De Dillmont are construction techniques: hemming, seaming, buttonholing, gathering, gauging, ruching, whipping, tacking, and slipstitching. Also described as sewing are hemstitching (a simple openwork), smocking or honeycombing, and marking, which is the embroidery of initials in cross or chainstitches (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 394; de Dillmont, 1886, pp. 1-23). These techniques are discussed in modern manuals as

Table 5.18: Number of sewing categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1879	01										01
1884	--					02			-		02
1885	--					02			-		02
1886	--	--				02			2		04
1887	--	02		1		02	-	-	4		09
1888	--	03				02	3	-	2		10
1889	03	03		3		02	4	1	3		18
1890	03	02		3		02	3	1	2		16
1891	01	01		4		04		1	-		11
1892	--	01		3	-	03	3	1			11
1893	01			4		03			7	03	18
1894	03			5	-	03	1	1		02	15
1895	03					06				02	11
1896				4			2		5	02	13
1897			1	5				1		02	09
1898			2	9					3		14
1899			3	5		02	3		3		16
1900		--	2	5		01	-	1	4	03	16
1901	-	05	-	7		--	-	1	2	05	20
1902	04	07	1	6		--	5	1	3	04	31
1903	05	03	-	6	-	--	8		1	04	27
1904	06	--	-	8	-	06	8	2	-	03	33
1905	04		2	8	-	--	3	2	-	03	22
1906	03	02	5	7	-	01	3	1	2	05	29
1907	01	--	5	3	2	--	5		3	05	24
1908		12	3	3	2	03	6	2		07	38
1909		13	6	2	-		-	3		08	32
1910		14	4	2		03	7				30
1911		13	3			09	9	2		06	42
1912	10	13	6		-	04				07	40
1913	04		6	8		03		6		07	34
1914	06	17	2	6	-	04	-			10	45
1915	15	15			1	11	6	5		04	57
Total	73	125	51	117	5	80	79	32	46	92	700

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
Le = Lethbridge
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RD = Red Deer
PA = Prince Albert
Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
-- = no sewing
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

embroidery techniques.

Swain describes plain sewing as the essential form of household needlework, because it contained all the basic techniques for more decorative needlework (1977, p. 12). It was taught to every girl throughout the nineteenth century, and in the beginning of the twentieth century. In Calgary formal instruction in sewing appeared to be integrated into the shool curriculum shortly after the turn of the century, as a counterpart for girls to the Manual Arts training program introduced at that time by many schools, sponsored by the MacDonald Trust Fund (Daniels, 1954, p. 134; Weston, 1951, p. 21). Most of the agricultural fairs in this survey featured several categories in which young girls could compete for prizes. Usually the categories were for the best made aprons or best dressed doll.

Of the 700 sewing categories located, 73 did not indicate a specific item. Of the remaining 627 categories there were 115 shirts. The type of material the shirts were made of were indicated (cotton, linen, flannel, or wool), as well as whether they were handsewn or machine stitched. There were 104 categories featuring aprons. Ladies and children competed from the 1880s till 1915 in the making of kitchen-, cooking-, print-, butcher-, tea-, fancy-, lingerie-, white silk aprons and pinafores. For the very industrious there was the category "two aprons or more".

Underwear was featured 65 times on the winners' lists. The term varied a bit ("underwork" or "underclothes"). From 1910 on, the distinction between hand and machine stitched lingerie was made on the prize lists.

Children's dresses or "frocks" (65) were featured almost as often as underwear (62). Fourteen first prizes were awarded for a variety of baby clothes, robes, jackets, vests, etc. and fifteen first prizes for boy's suits. Other sewn articles regularly featured were nightgowns (handmade and machine stitched), shirtwaists and blouses, coats, hand stitched bedsheets, and occasionally stylish dresses, white dresses, handmade overalls, a woolen waistcoat, and 75 samples of buttonhole making.

Most categories of sewing were featured in Calgary (18%), followed by Medicine Hat (17%), Yorkton(13%), Regina and Saskatoon (each almost 12%). Nine percent of all categories in this survey were tabulated as sewing categories. As shown in table 5.18, there were few sewing categories in the early 1880s. Usually there was only one sewing category at each fair. In 1882 and 1883 no first prizes were awarded for sewing. Between 1888 and 1892 the number of first prizes for sewing increased, fluctuating between two (1893) and five (1888), before stabilizing around three sewing categories per annual fair between 1899 and 1907. From 1908 to 1914 sewing categories increased, fluctuating between four (1908) and six (1911). 1915 was a peak year for sewing, 57 first prizes were awarded among seven fairs.

5.16 Spinning

Webster defines spinning as "the drawing out and twisting threads to make a yarn or a thread of fiber" (1976, p. 2195). Emery defines it as "the process of twisting together and drawing out fibers into a continuous strand" (1980, p. 9). Burnham had the same definition for spinning, and adds that this can be "done with the aid of a spindle or spinning wheel or by machine" (1981, p. 129). Caulfeild and Saward state that domestic spinning declined since the improvements in spinning machines (1882, p. 458). Many knitting categories include the terms "homespun" or "homemade yarn".

Although commercially made yarns were available at the time settlers arrived in Alberta and Saskatchewan, homespinning remained a viable alternative until well into the 20th century. A survey of Canadian spinning wheels by Buxton-Keenlyside reveals that some settlers had brought their spinning wheels with them from Eastern Canada, or Europe, while others made their spinning wheels once settled in the West (1980, pp. 267 and 285). Video taped interviews with spinners reveal that a spinning wheel was not always necessary, since some people used a pencil or a wooden spoon (Lambert, 1979).

As stated in the section on knitting, homespinning provided the family with goods that were needed and at the same time prevented the expenditure of cash that was either not there or earmarked for investment in the farm. Homespinning, which was featured in the Domestic Manufacture class of the agricultural fairs, remained on the prizewinners' lists in Alberta and Saskatchewan as late as 1914.

Even if commercially made yarn could be afforded by a family, homespun was sometimes preferred for socks and mittens, especially by people doing outdoor chores and by ice fishers (Lambert, 1979). Since spinning was mostly done in spare time after

Table 5.19: Numbers of spinning categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	RD	Sa	PA	Yo	T
1884	-			2		2
1885	-			3		3
1886	1		-	3		4
1887	1		-	2		3
1888	-		-	1		1
1889	-		1	2		3
1890	1		1	-		2
1891	1					1
1892	1	-	1			2
1893	-			1	1	2
1894	1	1	-		1	3
1895	1				1	2
1896			-	3	1	4
1897					1	1
1898				1		1
1901	-			-	1	1
1902	-		-	-	1	1
1903	-		-	-	1	1
1904	-	1	-	-	-	1
1905	-	1	-	-	-	1
1906	-	1	-	-	-	1
1909		1			-	1
1912	-	1	-		1	2
1913	-	1			-	1
1914	-	1	-		-	1
1915	1	-	-		-	
Total	8	8	3	18	9	45

Note: only the following fairs featured spinning:
Ed = Edmonton
RD = Red Deer
T = Total
Sa = Saskatoon
PA = Prince Albert
Yo = Yorkton
- = no spinning
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

other chores were out of the way, many women never had the opportunity to spin long enough to have the amount of yarn available for a whole sweater. Spinning enough yarn for a pair of mittens or socks was more easily accomplished, and each family member needed several pairs every winter.

There is some evidence that flax spinning was also done in Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Dominion Census of 1896 mentions twenty pounds of scutched flax in the Qu'apelle and Regina District. *The Calgary Tribune* described a large display of flax spinning by a Mr. J.C. Fitzgerald at the 1889 fair (October 16, 1889).

Apart from the categories for homespun mittens, socks, stockings and the occasional gloves, there were also categories for skeins of yarn, often at least 2 lbs. Plied yarn categories were indicated by the terms "double yarn", and "twisted yarn".

As shown by table 5.19, 30% of all spinning categories tabulated in this survey were featured in the prizewinners' lists from Prince Albert. This was followed by Yorkton (19.5%), Edmonton (17.5%), Red Deer and Saskatoon (each 6.5%). Knitting with homespun yarn was only featured in Edmonton (57% of all homespun knitting categories in this survey), and Prince Albert (43%). If spinning and knitting with homespun yarns are combined, Prince Albert featured 41% of all spinning categories, and Edmonton 39%, while Yorkton, Red Deer and Saskatoon shared the other 20%.

As shown by both tables 5.8 and 5.19, spinning and knitting homespun yarn categories increased from two in 1884 to nine or ten each year from 1886 to 1889. In 1890 and 1891 there were only one or two categories. From 1882 to 1884 spinning experienced a small peak when there were six to eight spinning and homespun knitting categories. From 1895 to 1903 only the Yorkton fair featured spinning regularly, while Prince Albert featured it occasionally. Red Deer featured spinning regularly from 1904 to 1914.

5.17 Tatting

Webster defines tatting as "a delicate lace for edgings and insertions formed by looping and knotting with a single cotton thread and a small shuttle, to make varied designs of rings and semicircles" (1976, p. 2344). Emery implies that tatting is a type of knotted looping, with a mixed texture. That means that the knots can be worked close together, as

Table 5.20: Number of tatting categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	Le	MH	RD	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	Yo	T
1884	-					1			-		1
1885	-					1			-		1
1887	1	-		-		-	-		-		1
1888	1	-				-	-	1	-		2
1891	-	-		-		-		1	-		1
1892	-	-		-	-	2	-			-	2
1893	-			1		-			-	-	1
1894	-			-	-	1	-			-	1
1895	-					1				-	1
1896				1					-	-	1
1897			-	1						-	1
1898			-	1					-		1
1899			-	1		1	1		-		3
1900		-	-	1		-	-	-	-	-	1
1901	-	-	1	1		1		-	1	-	4
1902	-	-	1	1		-	1	-	1	-	4
1903	1	-	1	1		-	-	-	-	-	3
1904	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
1905	1		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
1906	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
1907	-	1	1	1	1	1	-		-	-	5
1908		-	1	1	1	-	-	1		-	4
1909		1	1	-	-					-	2
1910		1	1	-	-	1					3
1912	-	1	1		1	-	2			-	5
1913	-		1	1	1	-	-	1		-	4
1914	1	1	-	-	1	-	1			1	5
1915	-	1			1	-	-	1		1	4
Total	7	7	11	15	6	10	5	6	2	2	71

Note:
Ed = Edmonton
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MH = Medicine Hat
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Sa = Saskatoon
Re = Regina
Ba = the Battlefords
Yo = Yorkton
T = Total
- = no tatting
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

well as spaced by loops (1980, p. 34).

Tatting dates back to at least the 18th century (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 476, de Dillmont, 1886, p. 384). At that time the work resembled a series of knots or small knotted ovals rather than the openwork fabric of the late 19th Century. It is probable that this early type of tatting was used as a novelty braid, embroidered on fabric as decoration, not unlike braiding discussed under embroidery. De Dillmont refers to this early type of tatting as a kind of "passementerie" (1886, p. 383).

In the nineteenth century two techniques were developed that expanded the design possibilities of tatting. The first development was the picot, which made connections with other knotted loops possible. The second development was the second shuttle, which made more complicated designs possible incorporating scallops and straight lines (Caulfeild & Saward, 1885, p. 479).

Coarse threads were usually used for the tatted trims of furniture covers, antimacassars, cushion covers, portieres and pincushion covers. Medium thread was advised for tatted trims of aprons, collars, and cuffs. Fine thread was recommended for the trims of bedlinen, lingerie, caps, lappets and doilies (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, pp. 480-484; de Dillmont, 1886, p. 384). Caulfeild and Saward also gave instructions for tatting in combination with crochet and with tapework, but the categories on the winners' lists do not reflect this.

Tatting accounted for 0.9% of all categories in this survey. Twenty one of all tatting categories were featured in Medicine Hat. This is followed by Lethbridge (15%), Regina (18%) and Edmonton (11%). Regina featured tatting in 1884 and 1885, Edmonton in 1887 and 1888, Battleford from 1889 to 1891. No tatting categories were featured before 1884. As shown by table 5.20 only one or two first prizes were awarded in total for tatting before 1898. From 1899 on more fairs included tatting on their prize lists, but the average number of first prizes awarded per annual fair remained low, never more than one prize at every two fairs. Some years no first prizes were awarded for tatting (1886, 1889 to 1890, and 1911).

5.18 Weaving

Webster defines weaving as "the process of forming cloth on a loom by interlacing threads or yarns of other strands" (1976, p. 2591). Emery does not define weaving as a craft because her main concern is the structure of the textile rather than the technique. Emery defines "warp and weft interlacing" as "the straight over and under crossing of parallel and transverse elements with parallel longitudinal elements", which she notes is "characteristic of most loomwoven fabrics only" (1980, p. 111). Burnham defines weaving as "making a textile on a loom or other weaving device, by interlacing warp and weft threads in a specific order" (1981(a), p. 179).

The full history of weaving in Western Canada has yet to be written, but interesting studies of several aspects reveal that there apparently was not as urgent a need for homeweaving for settlers in Western Canada as for settlers in the West of the United States. Janet Hoskins in her masters' thesis describes the history of home weaving in Manitoba from the early 19th century till the 1940s (1983). The availability of yard goods from the Hudson's Bay Company made home weaving less necessary in Manitoba and in other parts of the Canadian Prairies as well. While knitting and sewing are often mentioned in journals and memoires, the researcher has not encountered any mention of home weaving. On the other hand, the Census of Canada in 1881 and 1891 mentions under the section Homemade Manufactures respectively 377 and 402 yards of flannel or cloth in the North West Territories. Nine yards of home manufactured linen was also mentioned in the 1881 census. *The Edmonton Bulletin* described an exhibit of some yardage of homespun, dyed and handwoven checked flannel from the St. Albert Mission at the fair in 1884 (October 11). The settlers from the Parry Sound area (Ontario), who arrived in the Edmonton area in 1892, brought a few looms with them. They were shared by several families, and were continually in use during the I890s (Richards,in Green (Ed.) (1967), p. 184). There is some evidence of rag carpet weaving as a cottage craft industry, as suggested by the occasional small newspaper ads in *The Regina Leader* (August 11, 1895), and *The Edmonton Bulletin* (August 10, 1894), and the description of the rag mat display of a Mrs. Odell of Medicine Hat at the Calgary fair (*The Calgary Tribune*, October 16, 1889).

Table 5.21: Number of weaving categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	Ca	MH	RD	Re	Sa	T
1884	-				1		1
1885	-				1		1
1886	1	-			1	-	2
1887	-	-	-		-	2	2
1889	-	-	-		1	-	1
1890	-	-	-		1	-	1
1891	-	-	-		1	-	1
1894	1		-		-		1
1905	-		1	-	-	-	1
1908		4	-	-	-	-	4
1909		1	-	-			1
1910		3	-		-	-	3
1911		3		-	-	1	4
1912							
-		2		-	-	1	3
1914	1	-	-	1	5	1	8
1915	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
Total	3	13	1	1	16	5	39

Note: only the following fairs featured weaving:
Ed = Edmonton
Ca = Calgary
MH = Medicine Hat
RD = Red Deer
Re = Regina
Sa = Saskatoon
T = Total
- = fair held but weaving not featured
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

There is also some evidence of a commercial weaving industry. The Dominion census of Canada of 1891 and 1901 mention a woollen mill in the North West Territories, employing seven men, three women and two boys under 16 years of age. The 1895 census of the North West Territories, however, does not mention a woollen mill. The Calgary newspapers on the other hand, describe the exhibition of the Fish Creek Woollen Mill in 1890 (*The Calgary Tribune*, October 15, 1890) and the Alberta Woolen Mill in 1894 (*The Calgary Herald*, July 17, 1894). *The Edmonton Bulletin* mentioned a display of the Edmonton Woollen Mills, at the 1903 fair (July, 3).

Of the 38 weaving categories 32 indicated a specific item. There were nine blankets and eleven "woven counterpanes", followed by six "rag carpets with a cotton warp, at least 10 yards", one floormat and a few pieces of flannel yardage.

Weaving accounts for 0.5% of all categories in this survey. The total number of first prizes awarded annually fluctuated between one and two. As shown by table 5.21, no first prizes were awarded for weaving between 1895 and 1904. From 1908 on, the number of first prizes remained small, but increased. 1914 was a peak year when eight first prizes were awarded for this craft at four of the fairs held that year. Weaving was featured in Regina (40% of all weaving categories), Calgary (32%), Saskatoon (12.5%), Edmonton (10%), Medicine Hat, and Red Deer (2.5% each). Weaving was regularly featured in Regina from 1884 to 1891, and in Calgary from 1908 to 1912. In other communities weaving was only occasionally awarded a first prize at the fair.

5.19 Straw Weaving

This study limits itself to the discussion of straw weaving and basketry categories as they appeared on the prizewinners' lists of this survey. **Straw weaving** was featured only six times. The category straw hat appeared the most often, and one basket was featured on the prize lists. Although the techniques used in straw weaving and basketry might be similar to weaving, background information on basketry and straw was not sought out. The existance of a small body of literature on straw weaving in Canada was noted (J. Beaudoin-Ross and P. Blackstock, 1984, pp. 76 and 82).

As shown on table 5.22, straw weaving was tabulated only six times, accounting for 0.1% of all categories in this survey. Saskatoon awarded three quarters of the prizes for these crafts between 1889 and 1896. A first prize was awarded in Regina (1895) and in Calgary (1908).

5.20 Leatherwork

Although tanning and leatherwork are not textile crafts, they were occasionally featured in the domestic industry classes, in which most of the textile craft categories were found. Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross and Pamela Blackstock list several studies on leatherwork in Canada with repect to *bottes sauvage* and *cuire sauvage* (1984, pp. 72, 82 and 86).

Table 5.22: Number of straw weaving categories at selected fairs

Year	Calgary	Regina	Saskatoon
1889	-	-	1
1890	-	-	1
1891	-	1	
1892	-	-	1
1894		-	1
1896			1
1902	-	-	1
1908	1	-	-

Note: only the above fairs featured straw weaving
- = fair held but straw weaving not featured
blank space = no fair held or data unavailable

Leatherwork was featured in Prince Albert, which had 64% of all leather working categories in this survey, Regina and Saskatoon (about 13% each) and in Medicine Hat and the Battlefords (3% each). Saskatoon featured leather categories in the late 1880s, Prince Albert from 1900 to 1902, while the other communities awarded first prizes for leatherwork only intermittently.

Table 5.23: Number of leatherwork categories at selected fairs

Year	Ed	MH	Re	Sa	Ba	PA	T
1882	1			-			1
1884	-		-	-		3	3
1886	-		-	1		-	1
1887	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
1888	4		-	-	-	-	4
1889	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
1890	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
1891	4	-	-		-	-	4
1892	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
1893	2	-	-			4	6
1894	1	-	1			-	2
1900		-	-	-	-	4	4
1901	-	-	-		-	2	2
1902	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
1904	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
1905		1	-	-	-	-	1
1907	1	-	1	-		5	7
1910	-	-	-	1	-		1
1911		-	1	-	-		1
1913	-	-	1		-		1
1914	2	-	-	-			2
Total	24	1	4	4	1	20	54

Note: only the following fairs featured leatherwork:
Ed = Edmonton
MH = Medicine Hat
Re = Regina
T = Total
Ba = the Battlefords
Sa = Saskatoon
PA = Prince Albert
- = no leatherwork featured
blank space = no fair or data unavailable

6. Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter contains the discussion and the conclusions of the findings, pertaining to the four objectives set out in chapter 1.

6.1 Identification of the Crafts

The first objective was to list textile crafts found on the prizewinners' lists of selected agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan between 1879 and 1915. This objective was met as soon as the coding procedure was finished. Of the 7662 tabulated categories 6193 indicated 16 specific crafts.

These crafts were in rank order according to the number of categories: embroidery (2134 or 27.8% of all categories), knitting (971 or 13%, including knitting with homespun), sewing (705 or 9%), crochet (617 or 8%), lace making (488 or 5.5%, including needle and bobbinlace and lace making in general), quilting (396 or 5%), rug making (213 or 2.8%), mending (107 or 1.4%), netting (80 or 1%), painting (79 or 1%), tatting (71 or 0.9%), beadwork (47 or 0.6%), weaving (38 or 0.5%), macramé (31 or 0.4%), homemade flowers (10 or 0.1%), laundry (7 or 0.1%) and hairwork (5 or 0.1%). The proportions of the most numerous crafts are shown on the chart in illustration 6.1.

Two other crafts were identified, which were not strictly textile crafts as defined in chapter 1. These crafts were leatherwork (54 or 7%) and straw weaving (8 or .1%). Slightly more than one percent (or 86 categories) stated a specific choice between knitting and crochet, and 1555 (or 20%) categories did not indicate a specific textile craft.

This list is only of the crafts featured at the ten fairs of this study . Although the list gives a strong indication of the type of crafts generally practiced at the time in the area, it should be kept in mind that other crafts were practiced that were not recognized as worthy of competition by the organizing committees of the agricultural societies. For instance, knotting, felting, and the recycling of food bags were probably practiced in Alberta and Saskatchewan between 1880 and 1915, but these crafts did not appear on the prizewinners' lists of the fairs in this study, although the recycling of food bags was introduced at the Edmonton fair in the 1930s. This did not mean that recycling of food bags was a recent activity at that time. Interviews with senior citizens and advice from the

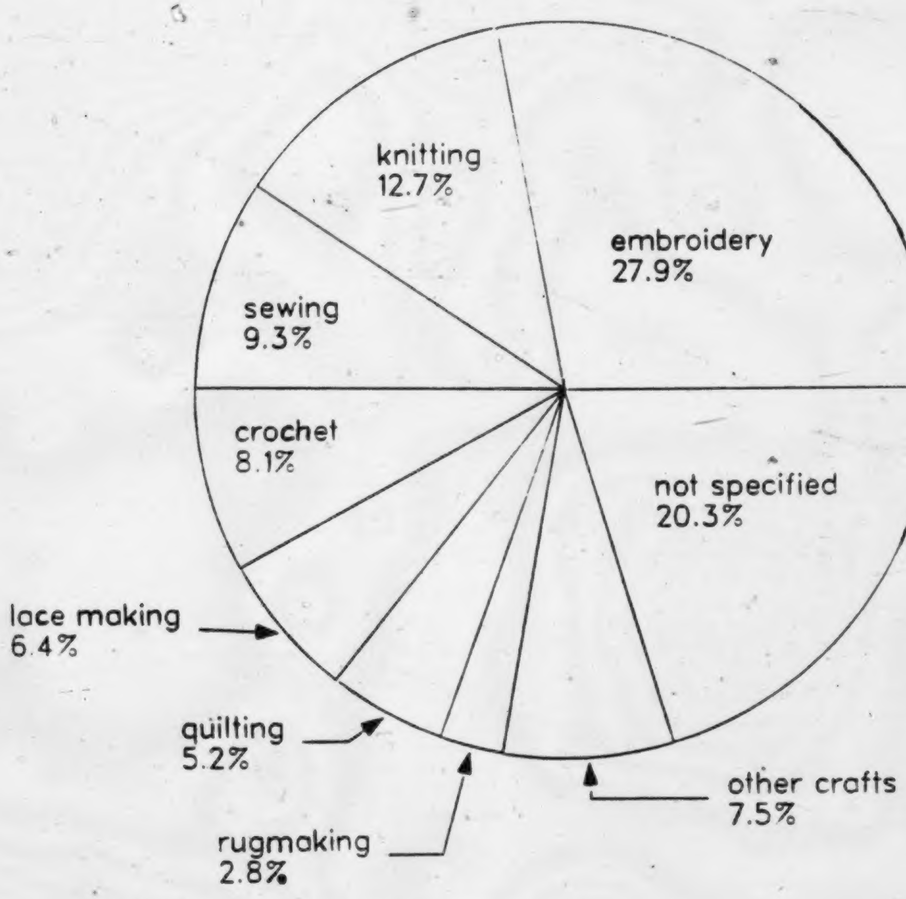

Figure 6.1: Textile crafts, 1879-1915

Women's Institute indicate that the use of sugar and flourbags for garments and household textiles was practiced as early as the turn of the century and may be as old as the date when the first foodbag was received by a woman on the prairies (Morsch, 1984; Women's Institutes, 1923, p. 183)

Mending of garments and table linen was not featured on the prizewinners' lists prior to 1912. This does not mean that stockings and socks, garments and tablelinen were hardly ever patched or darned before 1912. Similarly, because starched collars and shirts were featured from 1900 on, it does not mean that they were not starched before, nor only in the communities that featured laundry: Lethbridge, Regina, and the Battlefords. On the contrary it might mean that these skills were recognized as being worthy of competition because they were about to disappear due to increased prosperity and a shift to a more informal lifestyle.

6.2 Change in Interest in Textile Crafts, 1879-1915

The second objective was to identify any quantitative change in the annual number of categories of each textile craft in the selected fairs of this survey. This objective was met by the analysis of the two dimensional cross-tabulation of the variables Craft and Time. A three dimensional cross-tabulation of the variables Location over Time by Craft rendered a more detailed insight of the change in interest in the crafts as reflected by the change in the number of prizes awarded for each craft at various locations.

Although the data for this study were collected from ten fairs, it was found that data of all ten fairs were available for only two years, 1904 and 1906 (see illustration 6.2). Since most of the agricultural societies were established in the 1880s, the range from one fair in 1879 to seven fairs in 1887 was to be expected. From 1887 till 1895 the number of fairs on which data was collected fluctuated between five and seven. Between 1895 and 1899 some of the larger societies did not hold fairs (Edmonton, Calgary, and Regina). Agricultural associations in smaller communities were able to continue their fairs during the depression of the 1890s, but not every year.

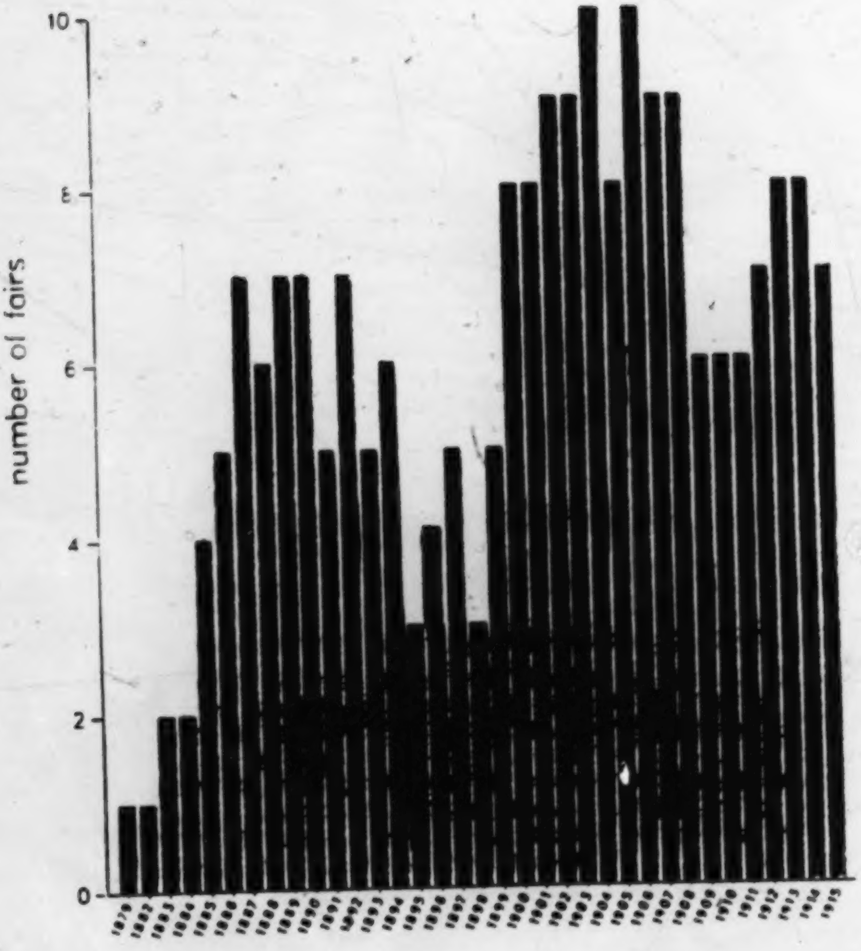

Figure 6.2 Number of fairs surveyed, 1879-1915

Table 6.1: Prizewinning categories for each textile craft at selected agricultural fairs, 1870-1915

Year	F#	Bd	Cr	Em	Hw	Hf	Kn	Kh	K/C	Ln	Lg	Ly	Ma	Me	Ne	Pa	Qu	Ru	Se	Sp	Ta	We	Le	St	Ns
1879	01	--	--	002	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	01
1882	01	01	01	004	01	--	04	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	02
1883	02	--	--	005	--	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	03	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	02
1884	02	01	05	009	--	--	15	--	--	--	01	--	01	02	--	01	05	03	02	02	01	01	03	--	04
1885	04	02	04	010	--	--	22	01	--	--	01	--	01	--	--	02	04	04	02	03	01	01	--	--	05
1886	05	03	07	017	--	--	26	06	--	01	01	--	--	02	01	01	06	08	04	04	--	02	01	--	16
1887	07	02	10	022	--	--	28	06	--	--	01	--	02	02	--	03	10	07	09	03	01	02	02	--	30
1888	06	01	09	035	--	--	39	09	--	02	01	--	03	01	--	04	09	08	11	01	02	--	04	--	38
1889	07	02	14	030	--	01	39	07	--	02	02	--	03	01	--	06	09	06	19	03	--	01	02	01	34
1890	07	02	12	036	--	--	41	02	--	04	01	--	03	02	--	05	12	08	16	02	--	01	05	01	38
1891	05	01	13	035	--	01	27	02	--	02	--	--	02	01	--	06	12	07	11	01	01	01	04	01	20
1892	07	01	14	044	--	01	28	04	--	01	01	--	02	--	--	05	12	10	11	02	02	--	02	01	34
1893	05	02	14	042	01	--	30	06	--	02	02	--	02	02	--	01	10	08	18	03	01	--	06	--	21
1894	06	01	09	028	01	--	28	03	--	02	02	--	03	01	--	02	09	08	15	03	01	01	02	01	31
1895	03	--	12	036	01	--	14	02	--	01	03	--	02	04	01	02	06	05	11	02	01	--	--	--	15
1896	03	01	06	012	--	--	21	--	--	02	01	--	--	01	--	--	08	04	13	04	01	--	--	01	24
1897	05	02	08	019	--	--	15	--	--	02	--	--	02	--	--	--	07	02	09	01	01	--	--	--	16
1898	03	02	07	019	--	--	11	--	--	05	04	--	--	01	01	--	06	02	13	01	01	--	--	--	24
1899	05	--	13	040	01	--	22	--	--	05	02	--	--	03	04	--	07	06	16	--	03	--	--	--	43
1900	08	01	16	035	--	--	17	--	--	05	02	01	02	02	01	--	11	07	16	--	01	--	04	--	43
1901	08	--	15	062	--	--	30	--	--	10	07	01	--	03	03	--	16	07	20	01	04	--	02	--	76
1902	09	02	19	360	--	--	29	--	01	14	04	--	--	03	05	02	22	02	31	01	04	--	02	01	65
1903	09	02	21	042	--	--	21	03	02	18	05	--	--	03	05	02	21	11	26	01	03	--	--	--	76
1904	10	06	19	077	--	--	34	--	03	23	03	--	--	04	07	01	19	10	33	01	04	--	01	--	75
1905	08	02	18	063	--	--	24	--	03	16	04	--	--	05	04	03	18	09	23	01	04	--	01	--	76
1906	10	02	22	059	--	01	25	--	01	26	02	01	--	02	04	05	12	06	30	01	02	--	--	--	73
*1907	09	--	18	080	--	01	27	01	02	14	08	--	--	04	05	03	17	09	24	--	05	--	07	--	74
1908	09	01	27	122	--	--	25	--	05	24	08	02	--	06	06	02	18	10	39	--	04	03	--	01	68
1909	06	--	23	094	--	--	28	--	09	17	05	01	01	04	03	06	13	07	32	01	02	02	--	--	51
1910	06	01	22	091	--	--	25	--	06	13	08	01	--	07	01	--	13	06	30	--	03	03	01	--	42
1911	06	01	33	111	--	--	39	--	16	18	11	--	--	05	03	02	16	08	42	--	--	04	01	--	45
1912	07	--	45	209	--	--	48	--	16	31	15	--	--	08	07	--	15	08	40	02	05	03	--	--	74
1913	08	01	52	148	--	01	45	--	07	22	12	--	01	06	05	02	17	06	34	01	04	--	01	--	69
1914	08	04	48	214	--	--	46	--	08	29	15	--	--	07	08	06	15	05	45	01	05	08	02	--	82
1915	07	--	60	233	--	02	43	--	07	28	16	--	01	15	06	07	17	05	57	01	04	05	--	--	82

F# = Number of fairs
Bd = Beadwork
Cr = Crochet
Em = Embroidery
Hw = Hairwork
Hf = Homemade flowers

Kn = Knitting
Kh = Knitting Homespun
K/C = Knitting/Crochet
Ln = Needle/Bobbinlace
Lg = Lace, general
Ly = Laundry

Ma = Macrame
Me = Mending
Ne = Netting
Pa = Painting
Qu = Quilting
Ru = Rugmaking
Se = Sewing

Sp = Spinning
Ta = Tatting
We = Weaving
Le = Leatherwork
St = Straw weav'g
Ns = Not specified

6.2.1 Embroidery

Embroidery categories accounted for almost 28% of all 7665 categories in this survey. As indicated by table 6.1, interest in embroidery before 1897 was very low. From 1898 on, interest gradually increased, and continued to do so at the cut-off date 1915. This suggests an increasing interest in embroidery in general. Fifty seven per cent of the total number of embroidery categories were featured from 1908 on, of which almost half were featured in 1914 and 1915 alone. This could reflect the increased prosperity and leisure, which the population of the Canadian Prairies was beginning to enjoy at that time. An extension of this study is necessary to determine if the high number of categories in 1915 (22 at seven fairs) represents a peak year or was part of further increase in interest.

Embroidery accounted for the largest percentage of categories at all fairs in this survey, ranging from 22% in Red Deer to 34% in Regina. An exception is Prince Albert where embroidery ranked third, making up only 9% of all categories at this community fair.

6.2.2 Knitting

Knitting was the second most important craft at the fairs in this survey (about 13% of all categories), including knitting with homespun yarn. The interest in knitting increased rapidly in the early 1880s, until it more or less stabilized between 1884 and 1896. The number of knitting categories decreased throughout the 1890s and was unstable during the early 1900s. The increase in the number of knitting categories from 1909 on suggests an increased interest in knitting in general. At the same time knitting categories started to show more variety. This suggests that knitting was increasingly practiced to produce not only socks, mitts or coverlets, but also for children's and baby garments and decorative trims for household linens.

6.2.3 Sewing

Sewing ranked third in the number of prizewinning categories of this survey. Before 1888 only one first prize was awarded for sewing per annual fair. From 1888 till 1908 the number of first prizes for sewing increased. An extension of this study is needed to determine whether the high number of sewing categories in 1915 (57 categories at 7 fairs) is incidental or represents the beginning of further increased interest. The increase in sewing categories may be due to the influence of the activities of the Women's Institutes, which were founded on the prairies in the first decade of the twentieth century, and the inclusion of sewing in the formal curriculum of the higher grades of the public school system. Another study is necessary to determine whether this is actually the case.

6.2.4 Crochet

Crochet ranked fourth in this survey, with 8% of all categories. Although the average number of crochet categories per annual fair fluctuated before 1895, there were more categories per fair during the 1880s than in the early 1890s. This may suggest a decreased interest in crochet. From 1896 to 1907 interest in crochet remained fairly stable. The increase in the average number of crochet categories from 1908 on suggests an increase in the general interest in crochet, reaching a peak in 1915. At this time more crochet items were featured in more categories than knitting. This may suggest that crochet was perceived as a leisure time activity, more like embroidery rather than knitting, which was still mainly considered for the domestic production of the family's hand and footwear. It may also reflect changes in fashionable clothing styles. An extension of this study is necessary to determine whether the high number of categories in 1915 represents a peak year, or is part of continued increasing interest in crochet.

6.2.5 Lace Making

Lace making categories account for 5.5% of all categories in this survey. This included 4.5% of needle and bobbin lace categories and about 1% for the general lace categories. Before 1897 there were very few lace categories. A few fairs awarded one or two first prizes for lace making, but most fairs did not. From 1898 on the increased number of first prizes awarded for lace making may reflect an increased interest in this craft. Most of the lace making categories were tape laces, a technique closely related to embroidery. It is therefore probable that increased leisure and prosperity were some of the social forces behind the increased interest in lace making from the turn of the century on.

6.2.6 Quilting

Quilting accounts for 5% of all categories and ranks sixth in this survey. Interest in quilting remained stable throughout the period, as suggested by the average number of quilting categories per annual fair, which was two. A stable number of categories, may represent an actual decline in interest of the general public, when the total population and the total number of textile categories of a fair increased during this period of stability. It is however interesting to note that of all items specifically indicated in the terms of the categories, quilts were the most numerous (358 out of the 4597 categories indicating a specific item).

6.2.7 Rug Making

Rug making ranks seventh, accounting for 3% of all categories in this survey. The average number of rug making categories per annual fair was one, indicating a low but steady general interest throughout the period of this study. A stable number of categories may indicate an actual decline in interest of the general public, when the total population and the total number of categories of the community's fair increased during the period of stability.

6.2.8 Mending

Mending ranks eighth in this survey, accounting for almost 1.5% of all categories in this survey. Before the turn of the century mending was featured at a few fairs. From 1900 on, general interest in mending increased, as suggested by the slow increase in the number of first prizes. This may be due to the increased activity of the Women's Institutes. Another study is necessary to determine whether this is actually the case.

6.2.9 Netting

Netting ranks ninth, accounting for 1.4% of all categories. General interest in netting was low before 1898. From 1898 on, interest steadily increased as suggested by the small increase of the number of first prizes awarded at more fairs. This modest increase in netting may be due to its association with darned netting, an embroidery technique popular at that time.

6.2.10 Spinning

Spinning ranks tenth, accounting for less than 1.5 % of all categories in this survey. This includes knitted homespun categories. Before the turn of the century almost all fairs awarded at least one first prize for spinning, or knitted homespun. From 1900 on, spinning was regularly featured in Red Deer till 1914, and occasionally in Yorkton (1913), and Edmonton (1915). Further study of fairs from 1915 on is necessary to determine if the occasional feature of spinning was incidental or the beginning of an attempt to revive the craft.

6.2.11 Painting

Painting ranks eleventh, accounting for 1% of all categories in this survey. The absence of prizewinners before 1884 suggests a low interest on the part of the general public at that time. A few prizes were awarded at some fairs between 1884 and 1895, suggesting some general interest at that time, which was not sustained between 1896 and 1901. From 1902 on, interest in painting fabrics increased slowly.

6.2.12 Tatting

Tatting ranks twelfth, accounting for .9% of all categories in this survey. General interest in tatting was modest. The high number of first prizes awarded for tatting from 1912 on may indicate a beginning of increased general interest in tatting from that year on.

6.2.13 Beadwork

Beadwork ranks thirteenth, accounting for .6% of all categories. General interest in beadwork was low as suggested by the small number of first prizes awarded for this craft. Further investigation is necessary to see if there is a relationship between the popularity of beadwork at the fairs of Edmonton and Prince Albert in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and the fact that a large proportion of these two communities were of native Indian or mixed ancestry, and that these two centres had mission and training centres with students brought in from other areas.

6.2.14 Weaving

Weaving ranks fourteenth, accounting for .5% of all categories. General interest in weaving was modest, as suggested by the low numbers of first prizes awarded in the late 1880s and early 1890s, mainly in Regina. No prizes were awarded from 1894 to 1904. This may agree with Hoskins' observation that weaving interest was low in the l890s, because by that time home weaving was no longer a necessity for the average household, and was not yet recognized as a potential leisure time activity (1983, p. 31). From 1908 to 1912, weaving was regularly featured at the Calgary fair. In 1914 it was also featured in Saskatoon, Regina, Red Deer and Edmonton. Further study of fairs is necessary to determine whether this indicates the beginning of an attempt to revive the craft, or whether this cluster of weaving categories is incidental.

6.2.15 Macramé

Macramé ranks fifteenth, accounting for .4% of all categories. General interest in macramé before 1895 was modest, as suggested by the low number of first prize winners before that date. From 1895 on only very few prizes were awarded, indicating little or no general interest in that craft.

6.2.16 Homemade Flowers

Home made flowers ranks sixteenth, accounting for .7% of all categories. General interest for this craft was shown only occasionally at a few fairs throughout the period under study.

6.2.17 Laundry

Laundry ranks seventeenth, accounting for .1% of all categories. There were no first prizes awarded for laundry before 1900, and only in a few communities after 1900. This indicated that most organizing committees and the general public did not recognize laundry as a craft in which one could compete at the fair. It may be interesting to investigate the quality of the water available for washing between 1880 and 1915 in the three communities which did feature laundry, and compare in with the quality of the water available in other communities, which did not feature laundry. Starched collars at the fairs might also reflect an attempt to save an aspect of a formal lifestyle that was gradually being phased out during the Edwardian Era.

6.2.18 Hairwork

Hairwork ranks eighteenth, comprising less than .1% of all categories in this survey. General interest in this craft was very modest as suggested by the occasional first prizes awarded before 1899. That it appeared on the prize lists in the 1890s at all is surprising, as it was already out of style in the early 1880s (Caulfeild & Saward, 1882, p. 148).

6.2.19 Other Crafts

Leatherwork accounted for .7% of all categories in this survey. General interest in leatherwork was modest, as suggested by the low number of prizes awarded from 1882 to 1894. There were no prizewinners for leatherwork from 1895 till 1900, but from 1901 on, interest in this craft revived, as suggested by the occasional first prizes awarded from that date on. Terms in the leatherwork categories reveal a wide variety of items: moccasins (22 pairs) and dressed and undressed skins and robes, bridles, boots, leather garments, and sofa cushions. This was one craft in which native Indian and European traditions interacted. Moccasins and fur robes were featured at several agricultural fairs, in the general domestic manufacture classes as well as in the Indian Departments.

Straw weaving accounted for less than 1% of all categories in this survey. Most of the prizes for this craft were awarded between 1889 and 1896 in Saskatoon.

6.2.20 Not Specified

There were a number of categories which could not be assigned to any specific craft. These categories accounted for about 20% in this survey. Before 1886 the number of these categories was very low, but from 1886 on it increased gradually from a range between three and six per annual fair from 1886 to 1895, to eight and twelve per fair from 1911 till 1915.

6.3 Local Differences

The third objective of this study was to identify any marked differences among communities. This goal was met by the comparison of the three dimensional cross-tabulations of Location over Time by Craft and of Craft over Time by Location. The use of percentages of the variable craft made comparison among the larger A and the smaller B fairs possible. Of all the categories analyzed it was found that 4411, or 57%, originated from just four fairs. Three of them were A fairs, Regina (1190 categories), Calgary (1156), and Edmonton (1011). The fourth was a B fair: Medicine Hat (1054). Saskatoon, an A fair had only 860 categories between 1880 and 1915. The other B fairs had far less: Lethbridge (563), Yorkton (531), Prince Albert (455), Red Deer (451) and the Battlefords (391).

The most marked difference was that Prince Albert had the highest percentage of knitting categories (21%), while in all other communities embroidery featured the highest percentage. This was probably caused partially by the absence of data for Prince Albert from 1908 till 1915, a period in which the embroidery categories increased sharply at all other fairs, while knitting increased less dramatically. In Prince Albert embroidery ranked fourth (9% of all categories at that fair). This too could be to some extent explained by the absence of data on Prince Albert after 1907. Comparison of the number of embroidery categories at Prince Albert with that at other fairs prior to 1907 reveal very few first prizes were awarded in Prince Albert, only one or two annually until 1904, and somewhat more from 1905 till 1907, but not nearly as many as in other fairs.

Prince Albert also had a low percentage for lace making (1.8%). This craft ranked 11th in Prince Albert, while in other fairs in this survey it ranked 4th or 5th. This could also be partially due to the absence of data after 1907, because the number of lace making categories increased from 1912 on, after a period of depression between 1907 and 1911. Comparison of the number of lace making categories in Prince Albert with that of other fairs prior to 1908 revealed that there were very few first prizes for lace making awarded (only eight in total) in Prince Albert. Another community fair which featured a low number of lace making categories was that of the Battlefords, where only nine first prizes were awarded for lace making prior to 1908, and four between 1908 and 1915.

Prince Albert was one of the four fairs in which the percentage of categories without indication of a specific textile craft was higher than any of the percentages of categories indicating a specific craft (30%). The other three fairs were Red Deer (43%), Saskatoon (27%), and Battleford (25%). In five communities the percentage of categories without indication of a specific textile craft was outranked by that of embroidery categories. These communities were: Lethbridge (23%), Medicine Hat (19%), Yorkton (18%), Calgary (14%), and Edmonton (14%). In Regina the percentage of categories failing to indicate a specific craft ranked third (11%), after embroidery and knitting. Thus, Regina's prizewinners' lists yielded the most specific information on the types of textile crafts at agricultural fairs, while Red Deer's list yielded the least specific information in that respect.

Yorkton had a higher percentage of sewing categories (17%) than any other fair. The percentages for sewing categories at other fairs ranged mostly between 9 and 11%. Red Deer on the other hand had a low percentage of sewing categories (1%). Yorkton also had a high percentage of quilting categories (9%). The percentages for quilting at other fairs range mostly between 3 and 5%.

Other differences are less marked. The rank order of the percentages of craft categories follows mostly the general rank order with a few transpositions of adjacent crafts. The rank order of textile crafts at the Calgary fair follows that of the general order till the eleventh craft. Thus Calgary seems to be the most representative community of with respect to the extent of textile craft practices in Alberta and Saskatchewan, as reflected by the prizewinners lists of the selected agricultural fairs.

6.4 Content Analysis of Prizewinners' Lists and Evaluation

The fourth objective was to develop a method of extracting quantitative information from the prizewinners' lists of agricultural fairs published in newspapers and to evaluate their use as a source for historical studies. This section discusses the nature of the information contained in the prize lists, the method used to analyze the lists, and the evaluation of the type of information extracted this way.

6.4.1 Prize Lists and Prizewinners' Lists

The prizewinners' lists can be viewed as the final link in a chain of interaction between the agricultural society and the community it served. The society recognized a number of popular crafts practiced in the community and listed them as categories in their prize lists. Before 1920 these lists were not standardized: every agricultural society had its own way of categorizing crafts, and no two communities published the same prize list (Jones, 1983, pp. 24-25).

The prize lists were at first printed in newspapers, but some societies also issued posters (Frith, 1983, p. 63; Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, poster file). Later they were also published as booklets. These booklets were often used as promotional material to entice new settlers into the area (Jones, 1983, p. 18). This was encouraged by the Department of Agriculture, which recommended the Grenfell Prize List of 1899 as a model example (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 260, I, 221; Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, Pamphlet file).

Categories were added to, or deleted from, these lists to follow the needs and the taste of the community. Additions could take the form of special prizes. These were usually offered by someone interested in promoting that particular craft, or because it was thought that potential clients or patrons would be interested in them (McEwan, 1960, p. 22). If a special prize ran successfully for a few consecutive years, the organizers of the fair usually incorporated it into the regular prize list.

Since the government grants to the agricultural societies matched only the prize money awarded from the treasuries of the societies, it was in the interest of each society to persuade the sponsors of the special prizes to donate the money directly to the society, rather than award it independently (F.H. Auld, 1922, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 260, I, 221). Thus the more quixotic special prizes, such as a window sash for the best bannock baked by a bachelor (Alameda, 1890), so numerous before the the turn of the century, gradually disappeared.

Most agricultural societies allowed the judges to add new categories and award prizes to accommodate entries which were not anticipated, and did not fit any of the categories on the program. Often these newly created categories were added to next year's list. Thus, the community responded to the prize lists in another way, through the

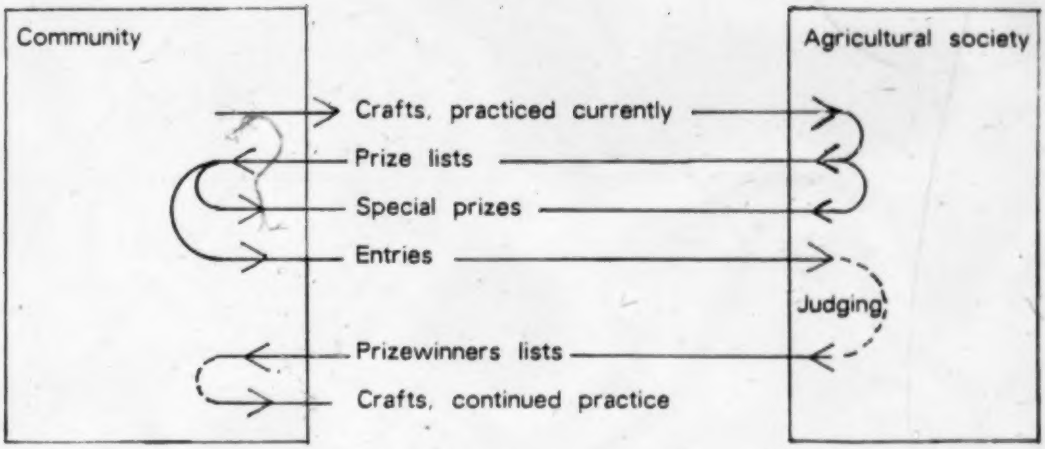

Illustration 6.3: Dialogue between the Agricultural Society and the community

entries themselves.

It is assumed that the more popular a craft, the more entries were received at the fair, the more need there was for the organizers to create specific categories for that particular craft. If the craft was not as popular as was anticipated, the number of entries would be low or nil. In that case the organizers eliminated a few categories of that particular craft. The prize winners' lists are the end products of a dialogue between the community and the agricultural society, and reflect the crafts practiced by the community more accurately than the programs or prize lists.

6.4.2 Prizewinners' Lists and Content Analysis

Prizewinners' lists form an excellent source of data for content analysis, because they contain many easily defined units which yield quantitative information. The largest challenge of the content analysis of the prizewinners' lists was the process of relating historic terms to the modern framework of definitions.

During ~~this~~ study it was found that the prize lists of the A fairs yielded the most detailed information about the variety of the techniques and articles produced by any given craft. The B fairs on the other hand tended to give less detail in general, but to confirm overall trends.

The researcher was well into this study when she discovered how precarious the dependence can be upon microfilmed newspapers. Although made aware of any possible gaps in the sequence of fairs by the statement of MacEwan that many agricultural societies could not hold fairs every year during the depression of the 1890s (1950, p. 191), other gaps, both large and small, were discovered.

One large gap was in the newspaper coverage of Prince Albert from 1910 till 1915. The Saskatchewan Archives Board is still trying to fill that gap, but as of January 1985, it was unable to locate a series of Prince Albert newspapers for that period.

Smaller gaps occur when an issue, or a page, or part of a page was missing. Quite often issues with the prizewinners' list, or pages with the winners' lists were missing. If this occurred in a newspaper of a community with another local paper, or with out-of-town coverage, such a gap was of no consequence. Often, however, a community had only one local paper, and out of town papers did not always carry the prizewinners' lists of the Ladies Work department. Thus, the information on some fairs could not be collected (Prince Albert, 1908, 1909; Medicine Hat, 1888 and 1912). Sometimes the city's second newspaper had similar gaps (Calgary, 1894), or published only a few of the prizewinners (Calgary, 1913).

Out-of-town newspapers often published the prize lists of the communities which did not have a local paper. The first prize list of the Edmonton fair was published in *The Saskatchewan Herald* of Battleford (1879), Red Deer's 1892 and 1894 fair were published in *The Calgary Tribune*, and Saskatoon's fairs from 1886 till 1896 were published in *The Regina Leader*. Sometimes a community did not have a local paper and could not or would not arrange publication in an out-of-town paper. Red Deer's prizewinners' lists were only twice published in a Calgary newspapers, but nowhere else, until Red Deer's *The Alberta Advocate* was established. Similarly, no prize lists were published in any newspaper of the Yorkton fair, until the establishment of *The Yorkton Enterprise*.

Despite these limitations content analysis of the prizewinners' lists is a viable way of collecting quantitative information, especially if the historical terms on the winners' lists are thoroughly understood.

6.4.3 Prizewinners

Close examination of the prize lists reveal that almost all winners have Anglo-Saxon names. There are a few French names, especially on the Edmonton winners' list, but that is to be expected from the community which in 1911 still had the largest French speaking population in Saskatchewan and Alberta (Dominion Census, 1911, Vol. III, Table X). In 1880 the native Indians and their descendants formed the largest segment of the population in the North West Territories (92%; Dominion Census, 1881, Vol. III, Table D). At that time people from Anglo-Saxon stock, born in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States accounted for less than 8% (ibid.). By 1906 the portion of people of Anglo-Saxon stock had increased to 72.5%, but in 1911 they accounted for about 60%, 40% of the population in Alberta and Saskatchewan being from non- British stock (Palmer, 1983, p. 18). The names on the prizewinners' lists however remain almost totally Anglo-Saxon. It should be kept in mind that a number of the bearers of these Anglo-Saxon names were of part Indian ancestry.

There is a sprinkling of German and Scandinavian names, and a Mrs. Buhar won a first prize for best Doukhobor needle work at the 1901 Yorkton fair. The names of the prizewinners' lists between 1879 and 1915 do not suggest that the new non-Anglo-Saxon residents of the two provinces participated to any great extent at the annual agricultural fairs. Perhaps this was to be expected, especially since the agricultural societies, like all major educational, social and political institutions, were organized by people of British descent, creating an environment in which other Anglo-Saxons would feel immediately at home, while non-Anglo-Saxons had to spend several years to adjust (Palmer, ibid., p. 14). As such, the prizewinners' lists yield information about a specific part of the population only.

The only ethnic group which was represented regularly, other than Anglo-Saxon, at agricultural fairs were the native Indians. Indian participation was sought in two different ways. One was to encourage the Indians to pursue agriculture. From 1885 till 1895 and later from 1904 till 1915 the Regina fair had an "Indian Department": a mini-agricultural fair for Indians from all over the two provinces. While some of the categories reflected native crafts, most of them were for livestock, vegetables and domestic manufactures such as butter, quilts, mittens, etc. Other fairs such as Calgary and Medicine Hat, featured another type of Indian department with exotic items such as collections of buffalo horns, tobacco pouches and "Indian curios".

Most agricultural societies, knowing that dressed up Indians attracted visitors to their fairs, gave all Indians free entrance to the fairs, provided they were dressed in full costume. Parades and shows featuring native dances were organized probably for the same reason. Government officials frowned on this, and in 1908 a form letter was sent to all agricultural societies in Alberta and Saskatchewan, requesting them to refrain from organizing parades and dances for Indians, because this "might lead to neglect of their (the Indians') pursuit of agriculture" (Firth, 1982, p. 819, Glenbow Alberta Archives, BR.A.278 F.215). This conflicting attitude from the government and the white society towards Indians was fairly typical for the period under study (G. Nicks, personal communication, July, 1984).

There is however one interesting aspect that should be explored further. Twenty two pairs of moccasins were featured at the agricultural fairs, and not all of them in the "Indian Departments". Prince Albert featured moccasins in the regular class of domestic manufacture in 1883 and 1884, Saskatoon and Battleford featured moccasins in 1887 and Regina in 1911. This suggest the acceptance of some native traditions in the daily life of the very early pioneers of the North West Territories. Further research is necessary to confirm this.

Another limitation of using prizewinners' list is revealed by close examination of the names and addresses of the prizewinners. Not all winners resided in the community served by the agricultural fair. There were a number of people who travelled around and competed for prizes at several fairs each year. There were the needlewomen who were so successful at their home fairs that they entered their products at some of the larger fairs in their province. Such persons were Louisa Martin and Agnes B. Smyth(e), who, after winning a large number of prizes in their hometown, Calgary, for several years, competed successfully in Regina, Edmonton, and Saskatoon as well. There were some women from Manitoba and Ontario, who regularly flooded the fairs with their entries. The prizewinners' list of Calgary 1910 shows 107 of such 'out-of-town' prizewinners, of the total 207 prizes (first, second and third prizes) awarded for textile crafts. Fifty one of these 107 prizes awarded to out-of-the-province winners were won by a single winner: a Mrs. McCutcheon from Toronto. She had already won 43 prizes at the 1909 Calgary fair and 28 at the 1908 Calgary fair. Another formidable prizewinner was Zeta (A.) Haist from Hamilton. It is possible that this was a mother and daughter team because the designation Mrs. or Miss is not consistent. Mrs./Miss Haist won 108 prizes between 1909 and 1915 at all A fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

This phenemenon started in 1903 when a Mabel Cook from Woodstock, Ontario, entered some items at the Edmonton fair. At that time the organizers were flattered that their fair had attracted exhibitors from so far away. Ten years later they urged the local ladies to bring out their best work so that the majority of the prizes would remain in the community. It may be interesting to check the winners' lists of other larger fairs in Canada, and trace the success of these travelling exhibitors. A continuation of this survey is necessary to determine whether the phenomenon of the travelling exhibitor continued after 1915.

From the late 1880s on the prize lists featured categories for girls under the age of 10 or 12. They could compete in examples of handstitching in the form of an apron or outline embroidery, or of knitting. In the late 1890s the age limit was raised to 12 or 14. Regina and Prince Albert had two categories for girls, one for under ten and the other for under 14 years old. Around 1910 the age limit for girls' work was raised again. In 1906 Lethbridge raised it to 15 years and again to 16 years in 1910. Most other fairs at that time had categories for schoolgirls under 14.

While most of the prizewinner's names were preceded by Mrs. or Miss, there were a number of abbreviations of male Christian names on the winners' lists of Edmonton, Regina and Prince Albert in the 1880s. There were a few men who submitted their own knitwork or embroidery, but this was usually acknowledged in a paragraph describing the entries at the fair (e.g., Captain Hoey's knitting, *The Prince Albert Times*, 1884) Some societies published as winners the names of those persons who claimed the prize money. It is likely that some men, having won prizes for livestock or other categories, thought it expedient to claim all the prize money won by themselves and the members of their families. It is possible that some societies thought it more expedient to write out one check for the whole family, rather than for each member who won a prize. This would explain the Charles' or Georges' winning prizes for livestock, and textile crafts, sometimes including categories for girls under 12.

6.4.4 Prize Money

Close inspection of the prize money revealed that the first prizes awarded for textile craft categories ranged from 75 cents for a small item, such as a pair of mitts or socks, to two dollars for a more labor intensive item, such as a quilt. An exception is the Edmonton fair of 1879 when the average first prize was five dollars.

The complaint voiced by "Nancie" in the *Farm and Ranch Review* of April 5, 1923, that the prize money for the women's exhibits such a needlework were extravagant compared with the prize money for livestock, does not reflect the situation of the agricultural fairs in Saskatchewan and Alberta from 1880 till 1915. Prize money offered for textile crafts was very low, especially when compared to the amounts offered for cattle and horses. The first prizes for large livestock ranged from $ 5 to $ 25. These relatively high prizes for livestock were encouraged by the departments of agriculture. In the *Modeltown 1913 Prizelist* the agricultural department of the province of Saskatchewan recommended that agricultural societies award 75% of the prize money to livestock winners

(Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, pamphlet file).

A review of the annual returns of the financial statements of the agricultural societies reveals that at least 60% of the prize money was indeed spent on the winners of horse and cattle categories (Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina and Saskatoon, files 260; Provincial Archives of Alberta, files 73.316; Glenbow Alberta Archives, files Br.A.218).The 1902 return of Saskatoon, showing that $ 126 was spent on prizes for horses (which attracted 90 entries), $ 117 on prizes for cattle (80 entries), $34 on cereals (28 entries), and $ 17.50 on "Women's Work" (70 entries), is not unusual. This does not suggest that the textile crafts were underrated, but rather that the larger livestock categories were overrated. This was observed by the editor of *The Innisfail Free Lance* who suggested in an editoral that the agricultural societies should award higher prizes for roots, vegetables, and cereals, if they wanted to attract the interest of more farmers (August 17, 1903)

6.5 Conclusions

What do prizewinners' lists indicate about the practice of textile crafts on the Canadian Prairies ? Analysis of the craft categories in this survey revealed that people knitted, sewed, quilted, and hooked garments, bedding and floor coverings for their families from the late 1870s to the First World War. In the early twentieth century they gradually expanded their repertoire of knitted items. They continued quilting and rug making but started at that time to find more leisure for tape laces and the embroidery of table linen and other household textiles.

Analysis of the items on the other hand revealed that the utilitarian textiles outnumbered the decorative ones. More quilts were produced than sofa pillows, more mitts than centerpieces, more stockings than pincushions, more aprons than tea cloths, etc. Both analyses indicated two conflicting trends within the textile crafts featured at the agricultural fairs. These trends are similar to the conflicting trends which form the theme of David Jones' study on Western Canadian fairs (1983). One trend, parallel to the educational purpose of the fair, emphasized continual improvement of domestic industry of utilitarian articles, such as quilts and clothing. The other trend, parallel to the amusement and distractions offered at the fairs, was the ever increasing range of decorative articles reflecting the latest fads and fancies published in needlecraft magazines and touted by the distributors of needlecraft kits.

7. Recommendations

7.1 Future Studies

(1) An extension of this study, continuing the survey from 1915 to 1945 or beyond, may yield insights into the further development of textile crafts in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Such a study is necessary to determine whether the high numbers of embroidery, crochet, sewing and mending categories in 1915 are incidental, or reflect a trend towards increased interest in these crafts.

(2) An expansion of this study to include all agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1880 to 1914 would reveal the complete extent of textile crafts at agricultural fairs. It would also yield a complete set of information for future studies and collection policies. Such an expansion would not be too cumbersome for Alberta, since the methodology is already developed, and the number of remaining agricultural societies established in Alberta before 1900 is small.

(3) The Statistical Package for Social Sciences program (SPSSx) used in this study can be adapted to analyze some crafts in greater depth. The large number of embroidery categories tabulated in this survey would be particularly suitable for such a study. The result would be a more detailed framework of a history of embroidery in Alberta and Saskatchewan. It would also be an aid to cataloguing historic embroideries of the period and area, more so than section 5.3 in this study.

(4) The SPSSx program used in this study could be adapted to generate information on textile crafts in smaller time slots, e.g. decades, instead of the whole 37 year period of 1879-1915. This may yield insights into the extent of interest in textile crafts for a particular period, which may be especially important for institutions with a mandate covering only a small number of years, e.g., historic houses. For example, a preliminary investigation indicates that the percentage of knitting categories was higher during the period 1879-1907 than between 1908 to 1915, while the percentage of embroidery categories were markedly lower.

(5) Since the use of textile terminology changes over time, a glossary of terms as they appear in the prizewinners' lists will not only assist in the identification, but also in the classification and the cataloguing of artifacts, and in the writing of label content for displays.

(6) Further investigation may reveal a possible relationship between the popularity of beadwork and leatherwork in Prince Albert and Edmonton in the 1880s and 1890s and the proportion of the population in these communities of Indian and mixed ancestry, and having the benefit of missionary and training centers encouraging the practice of crafts.

(7) A study of the influence of historic popular needle craft magazines, especially those sponsored by embroidery yarn companies and those offering embroidery kits, may yield interesting insights into the history of embroidery in Western Canada.

(8) Similarly, the study of the influence of the Women's Institutes on the agricultural societies and the prize lists of their fairs may add an interesting chapter to the as-yet-to-be-compiled history of textiles in Western Canada.

(9) Small ads in Western Canadian newspapers placed by rag carpet weavers, descriptions of displays of commercial woollen mills, and their mention in the 1881, and 1891 and 1901 census of Canada warrant a full investigation in the history of weaving in Saskatchewan and Alberta, as cottage craft industry as well as a commercial enterprise.

(10) A separate study is needed to evaluate the role of leatherwork, straw weaving and basketry in the early agricultural settlement period on the prairies. Prizewinners' lists suggest that some of the native aspects of leatherwork were shared by European settlers in the area.

(11) Investigation of the quality of the water available to housewives in Lethbridge, Regina and the Battlefords between 1879 and 1915 and comparison of the results with the quality of the water of other communities may yield insights into why laundry was featured in these three fairs.

(12) The successes of a small group of travelling exhibitors may be traced in the prizewinners' lists of a number of large agricultural fairs across Canada. This

may yield information of a unique group of people who may, or may not, have made their living from winning prizes at fairs across the country.

7.2 Management of Collections

(1) Collecting institutions in Alberta and Saskatchewan should analyze their collections and compare them with the information in this study, especially if their community is mentioned. For instance, this study indicates that a large amount of quilts, mitts, socks and aprons were produced. The researcher realises that some items are more likely to be deposited into a collection than others. Thus it may be that an institution has a representative collection of quilts, rather than of mitts or darned socks. Comparison of this study with an analysis of a collection could make the curator of the collection aware of gaps to be filled.

(2) Historic houses should analyze the prizewinners' lists of the local fair to add to the documentation of the historic house. The staff of the Rutherford House in Edmonton, for instance, were interested to find that Mrs. Rutherford had won three first prizes for her needlework at the 1898 Strathcona fair.

(3) Publication of the discussions of the terms and techniques in chapter 5 would be an aid in catalogueing artifacts and in forming a collection of textile crafts artifacts.

7.3 Public Programming and Exhibitions

(1) Museums, historic houses and other institutions with interpretive programmes should analyze their public programming and exhibitions, and compare their analysis with the findings of this study, especially as it pertains to their community. The researcher realises that there are many other aspects to be considered when planning interpretive programmes and displays. Comparison of the findings of this study with an analysis of programming may make the managements of these institutions aware of any gaps, and potential inaccuracies in their programming.

(2) For planning a series of workshops and demonstrations, institutions should collect authentic patterns from the 1880 - 1915 period of the following

items:

-crochet coverlets, table mats, shawls, baby booties and slippers;

-embroidered centerpieces, tea cloths, sofa cushions, tray cloths, slippers, pillow shams, lettering for monogrammed towels and table linen, sideboard scarves, shirtwaists, pincushions, tea coseys handkerchiefs, lingerie;

-knitted mittens, socks, stockings, coverlets, shawls, and slippers;

-hand and machine sewn men's shirts, ladies' aprons, children's dresses, boy's suits, shirtwaists and lingerie;

-quilt patterns of the period;

-hooked floormat patterns of the period.

(3) Historic houses and similar institutions should conduct their own survey of the agricultural fair in their community. Such a survey will not only yield information of the textile crafts in general, but may yield informatation of particular interest to the institution itself.

(4) Larger institutions may use the list of prizewinners' names as a starting point in researching local textile craft traditions, and as a basis for collection and documentation programmes.

7.4 Content Analysis of Prizewinners' Lists

Content analysis of the prizewinners' lists may be applied to other aspects of domestic and farm manufacture. For instance, prize lists and programs of the fairs in British Columbia were surveyed along with other historic sources in a study focused on collecting specific information about the techniques, tools and practices of food preparation in British Columbia, 1895-1935 (Riley, 1982, p. 73). Content analysis of the prizewinners' lists can complement this study with quantitative information, using the knowledge gained in the 1982 study as a guideline for establishing relevant categories.

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Note:
The location of books published prior to 1930 is indicated between parentheses at the end of the bibliographic entry.

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APPENDIX

Worksheet for the collection of data from the prizewinner's lists.

Newspaper:..

Judges:...

Class:..

id#	loc	year	crft	name/category	item	names/winners	$